

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VII. (New Series), No. 315.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1914

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)

JOY DAY IN THE FUTURE



LITTLE GIRL: "Why are you so thin?"

LITTLE BOY: "My father is a Government employee, so my mother was refused maternity benefit when I was born."

(The Fabian Research Committee, in their Report of the Working of the Insurance Act, point out that wives of Government employees are excluded from Maternity Benefit.)

[With acknowledgments to Nestlé Milk]

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

There has been no essential change in the political situation during the past week. It is still uncertain whether agreement will be reached over the Irish question, and whether there is likely to be a general election during the present year.

Mr. Asquith's Own Position

Mr. Asquith made a statement on Wednesday in

last week with regard to his own personal position, which confirms the view taken all along by this paper that the date of his retirement is not far distant. The *Daily News* reports his speech as follows:—

Mr. Asquith, in reply to the toast of "His Majesty's Ministers," said the proposer seemed to have implied at some moments a fixity of tenure in regard to some Ministers. (Laughter.) He was the last person to desire fixity of tenure. Having been now for eight years in the discharge of important and responsible duties, and for nearly six years—six years next month, if he lived so long—at the head of the Government, he was sure they would sympathise with the desire which one who had been exposed to that experience would welcome for some measure of relief.

The view generally prevailing is that Mr. Asquith proposes to retire at the dissolution, provided the Home Rule question has by that time been settled.

The Labour Party in Parliament

Many supporters of labour up and down the country who are themselves keen suffragists often express their astonishment at the opposition which we, in common with other advanced suffragists, show to the official Parliamentary Labour Party. Our explanation that our attitude is based not on our opposition to Labour as such, but to the Labour M.P.'s as allies and supporters of the Liberal Government, fails to convince them, because they have not yet fully realised the extent to which the Liberal Government

is dependent on the decided support of the Labour Party for its retention of office.

How They Saved the Government

We hope, therefore, that they will take due note of the division list on Thursday in last week in the House of Commons, when the Labour Party, having put up one of their own men to support a motion by Mr. Worthington-Evans on the question of the wives of soldiers, all voted against the motion on a division being taken, and thereby saved the Government from defeat by the narrow margin of 37 votes. We are aware, of course, that the Labour M.P.'s will defend themselves by contending that Colonel Seely, on behalf of the Government, promised what was required, but anyone who reads his speech carefully will see that this is exactly what he did not do; he gave honeyed words and any amount of sympathy, but no effective promise. It is on account of actions similar to this in the past that we came to the conclusion that the Labour Party in Parliament was not really an independent party, but a wing of the Liberal Party, and must therefore be held responsible for the hostile attitude of the Government to woman suffrage.

Scottish Women Liberals

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, at their annual meeting last week, carried a resolution, by 110 to 28, calling upon the Government to put woman

THE INSURANCE ACT AT WORK

Fabian Report Discloses Grave Injustice to Women—Wives of Government Workers Excluded from Maternity Benefit

In the form of a special supplement to the *New Statesman* for last week, an exceedingly important report has been published concerning the working of the Insurance Act in England. The report is the outcome of enquiries conducted by a Committee of the Fabian Research Department, consisting of 18 medical men, 6 actuaries, 16 Friendly Society officials, 13 Trade Union officials, about 12 barristers, several ex-civil servants, and a number of members of County, Borough, District, or Parish Councils, and of Public Health and Insurance Committees, women as well as men.

From this report we select the passages especially dealing with the position of women. Before doing so, however, we note that no mention whatever is made in the report of the voluntary insurance effected by any home-keeping wives of working men; from which we gather that the number of wives insuring themselves in this way is so small as to be a negligible factor. It remains true, therefore, that some nine or ten million men are insured, and only three or four million women.

Refusal of Sick Pay During Pregnancy

The first direct mention of women in the report occurs in reference to pregnancy. "The greatest number of complaints," we are told, "and the most widely felt grievance, have reference to the refusal of sickness benefit to married women insured persons claiming for disablement caused by pregnancy. Pregnancy is not specially mentioned in the Act, and in the few women's friendly societies it was usually excluded by the rules as a ground for sick pay. Thus the Rational Association provides that 'female members shall not be entitled to sickness benefit during pregnancy, except where the sickness is certified by the medical officer of the branch to have no connection with or is not caused by the condition of pregnancy.' And the Newbold Friendly Society lays it down 'that no allowance shall be made for sickness whilst in a state of pregnancy, except for lacerated or broken limbs, small-pox, fever, or other infectious diseases, burns, scalds, and other accidental external bruises, until one month has elapsed from the time of delivery.'"

"It was accordingly taken for granted by many officials accustomed to friendly societies' work that pregnancy gave no ground for claim under the Insurance Act. On the other hand, the Act made no specific exclusion of incapacity caused by pregnancy, and many societies took the contrary view, for which, indeed, they had official authority. Presently, in the alarm caused by the excessive sickness among married women, and perplexed at the contradictory opinions expressed, most societies seem to have made difficulties about admitting claims to sickness benefit where the incapacity to work was certified as due only to pregnancy. Unfortunately, as it seems to us, the Commissioners have not been prompt to guide either the societies or their own inspectorial staff by clear and authoritative decisions, and some of the inspectors have used language which has fortified society officials in a wholesale denial of benefit to married women, amounting, in our judgment, to a disastrous breach of the law.

A Blunder.

"Pregnancy, it has been repeatedly stated by society officials (and occasionally, as we gather, by the Commissioners' inspectors), is not a disease, but merely a normal function, and as such not entitling to sickness benefit unless complicated by some specific disease. This dictum has, we regret to say, in some societies led to the refusal of a large number of claims. But this is a simple blunder. The statutory ground for claiming sickness benefit is not disease at all, but the incapacity for work, whether caused by specific disease or by bodily or mental disablement. When the incapacity for work exists and is caused solely by the bodily disablement of pregnancy, the claimant is just as much entitled to sickness benefit as if the incapacity had arisen from any specific disease. This was clearly implied by Section 110 of the Commissioners' own handbook to the administration of benefits. Unfortunately, it is still very commonly thought that sickness benefit can be given

These rules are, of course, now ultra vires so far as the State Benefits are concerned."

only for sickness—that is, for specific disease; and we fear that claims are, in some societies, still being wrongfully rejected on this ground. It is, we learn, now a common practice in some societies to reject absolutely, without further enquiry, any claim in which the incapacity to work, though explicitly certified, is stated to be due to mere pregnancy. If the certificate states the incapacity to be due to anaemia or debility, with or without mention of pregnancy, stringent further enquiry is made, and many such claims are rejected. On the other hand, if the certificate mentions, along with pregnancy as a cause of incapacity, varicose veins or a liability to miscarriage, the claim is usually paid."

"Incapable" of Work

The report proceeds to point out that the real difficulty presented by the pregnancy cases lies in the ambiguity of the phrase "incapable of work," which occurs in the Act instead of the phrase "incapable of following his occupation," which had existed in most of the old rules of the friendly societies. The new phrase has sometimes been interpreted to mean incapable of any work whatsoever. The report proceeds:—

"This contention has been pushed to a cruel extremity by—we fear—many societies in the case of claims by married women, whether in connection with pregnancy or otherwise. When the doctor certifies that the pregnant woman is 'incapable of work' he means usually that it is undesirable, in the interests alike of her own health and that of the coming infant, that she should undergo the physical and mental strain of the ten or twelve hours' working day, lifting heavy weights or continually standing in mill or warehouse, amid the noise, the heat, the atmosphere, and the smells of the workplace. She is, in fact, on this very ground prohibited by law from working in a factory within four weeks after her confinement, and often forbidden or discouraged by employers from coming within three or four months of that event. But the woman is not under these circumstances usually incapable of any kind of work—in fact, the doctor usually advises her to occupy herself in light household duties and easy outdoor exercise, as positively advantageous to her health. We do not think that adequate consideration can have been given to those hundreds of thousands of cases either by the Government, the actuaries whose advice it followed, or by the members of the House of Commons—a fact which seems to indicate some drawbacks to exclusively male legislation affecting women!

Many Thousands of Women Refused Benefit.

"Most Approved societies seem to have dealt with the matter reasonably enough, objecting if the woman seemed up to a heavy day's work, but not objecting if she did only light household duties, such as a man at home on sick pay might do without comment. Other societies, however—either demurring altogether to sick pay for pregnancy or else alarmed at the extent of their liabilities—have decided that if the woman can be proved to be capable of tidying up her rooms, looking after her children, or even boiling the kettle (the proof being that she is, in her enforced home-keeping, found doing one of these things, perhaps actually by her doctor's advice), she is not 'incapable of work' according to the terms of the Act, and therefore not entitled to sickness benefit. In this way many thousands of women's claims have been, and are still being, rejected in circumstances in which the claim of the home-keeping man is allowed as a matter of course."

Arbitrary Restrictions

The report proceeds to deal with arbitrary restrictions enforced by the societies upon their members during receipt of sickness benefit.

"The most serious cases of injustice brought to our notice," it says, "are those of women who have (we fear in many hundreds of cases) had their sickness benefit peremptorily stopped in some societies because they were found within their own homes, doing this or that light household task, or even 'attending to the children,' on the ground that this was in-

fringing the old rule (not 'in the prescribed form') forbidding a member to 'perform any description of work' or 'do any manner of work'—not, as the Commissioners now lay it down in respect of benefit during the four weeks' confinement, 'remunerative work.' We recognise that the difficulty of administering sickness benefit in the case of married women is a real one; but Parliament having decided that they should have this benefit, we do not think that they ought to be deprived of it by administrative action."

Veneral Diseases

By the Insurance Act societies are permitted to suspend benefits on the ground that "the disease or disablement has been caused by the misconduct of the person claiming the benefit." The Fabian Committee find that "they often definitely withhold sickness benefit on grounds which cannot be considered as covered by the term 'misconduct.'"

Thus some societies have rules definitely "refusing sickness benefit to all persons disabled by 'venereal diseases.' It is cruel," says the Committee, "to ignore the fact that many sufferers from venereal diseases are in no sense the victims of their own personal misconduct, which is the only thing the Act penalises; and that no society is empowered to deny sickness benefit to innocent married women, for instance, being themselves insured persons, who have the horrible misfortune to suffer from their husband's misconduct. We cannot refrain from saying that it seems to be the duty of the Commissioners, having apparently formally sanctioned rules of this sort, to take prompt action to get them amended so as to be in conformity with the law."

"Another serious injustice is the difficulty which some married women insured persons are finding in getting their maternity benefit, and even occasionally their sickness benefit, promptly paid, the excuse being made that the societies do not feel sure that the claimants intended to resume employment, and thus continue to be insured persons."

Consumption Treatment

Turning to the treatment of tuberculosis the report notes that what the Act promised to the insured person in return for his contributions was if he was found to be suffering from tuberculosis, "treatment" in a sanatorium or otherwise, with permission to the Insurance Committee to extend this boon to his dependants. (The wife and children of the wage-earner are all included in the term dependants.) The report states that the accommodation provided has proved totally inadequate for the insured persons, and that the "dependants," who were to come in for what was over, have therefore gone entirely unprovided for.

Maternity Benefit—Excluded Wives

The Maternity Benefit, with the improved conditions introduced by the Amending Act of 1913 (by which the payment has to be made to the mother), is, according to the report, the most popular and least unsatisfactory part of the Insurance scheme, and, it is believed, in the main working well.

The Committee note, however, the regrettable fact that, apart from the uncertain effect of the provision as to arrears of contributions, at least half a million women, who would normally be eligible for maternity benefit, find themselves legally or practically excluded from it. "There are first the 'excepted' persons. The Insurance Act allows (First Schedule, Part II.) certain classes of persons to be 'excepted' from the whole scheme, provided that it can be shown that they are entitled otherwise to benefit 'on the whole not less 'favourable' than those given by the Act.' But, by what we can only believe to have been an inadvertence on the part of the Government, these alternative equivalent benefits need only be 'such as to secure provision in respect of sickness and disablement.' No mention was made of maternity benefit; and the interest of the wife was apparently entirely forgotten! Under this provision practically all persons employed under the Crown (other than seamen, marines, and soldiers), those employed under nearly 500 of the principal local governing bodies, and the clerks of nearly a hundred rail-

way and other statutory companies—in all, we believe, nearly 300,000 persons—have been left out of the scheme. The men escape the weekly insurance stamp, and continue themselves to be provided for in sickness and disablement as before. The wives lose the maternity benefit that they would otherwise have received in respect of their husbands' insurance."

"The only practicable way to remedy this injustice, unless some entirely new provision for maternity is made, appears to be for the Government to amend the provision for the 120,000 thus excepted clerks, &c., in its own employment by the addition of an equivalent to the maternity benefit; and for it, at the same time, to address a strong appeal to the local authorities (who account for a hundred thousand more of these 'excepted' persons) and the railway companies (who have only a small minority of the cases) to add to the provisions for sickness and disablement a definite provision for the wife's confinement—just as if this requirement had not been, by our exclusively male Legislature, omitted from the Insurance Act."

The Deposit Contributors

Then there is the hard case of the uninsured wives of deposit contributors, and of the women who are themselves deposit contributors (numbering together certainly two or three hundred thousand), for whom there can practically never be anything to draw for maternity benefit. The offer of maternity benefit to the deposit contributors is, in fact, illusory. Yet a wife cannot prevent her husband from becoming a deposit contributor. Her need of proper care during confinement is just as much a public interest as if he had not neglected to enter or had not failed to get into, or to remain in, an Approved society."

The Taxation of the Poorest

"Perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts," says the report "that the working of the Act has revealed is the terribly low standard of vitality at which millions of our working people are living. Economists and physiologists demonstrate that, with prices and rents as they are, a family maintained on a pound a week cannot possibly obtain enough of the bare necessities of life. It naturally suffers from chronic ill-health. We find, in fact, that the millions of families at or below the pound-a-week level in our great cities are—if we judge by the standard of health that the professional classes expect—practically always ill. One panel doctor with a large East End practice has had through his surgery within the year 81 per cent. of all the people on his list. Another in South London has had 88 per cent. He declares emphatically, and doctors in other towns and in other parts of London bear the same testimony, that what these people are suffering from is essentially want of nourishment, want of warm clothing, want of decent housing, and want of rest—in short extreme poverty. Meanwhile by the Insurance premium the State is abstracting from each of their bare cupboards one loaf of bread a week, thereby starving them still further into illness, in order to pay for their doctoring and sickness benefit during the illness which the State has thus helped to create!"

Readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* will not need to be reminded that a large proportion of these "poorest" on whom the burden of the Act falls so heavily are widows.

Summing up the situation produced by the Act the report says:—

"It is plain that nearly all the approved societies wholly or largely made up of women are overweighted. They cannot carry their present burdens without imminent insolvency. This is not due to any fault of their administrators, but to a blunder of the Government, which took the sickness experience of a society of men as a guide to that of four million industrial women wage earners, and forgot, moreover, as it seems, all about pregnancy! Under these circumstances it will, we think, be impracticable for any Government to attempt to right matters by diminishing the women's benefits or increasing their contributions. We estimate that somewhere between a million and a million and a half will be needed to make good the deficits of the women's societies up to January 15, 1915—to say nothing of the future! Yet, seeing that the actual deficits will differ largely from society to society, it will be difficult to make the societies even momentarily solvent by any simple grant in aid, whilst no such financial operation will prevent a continuation of the deficits."

In consequence the report recommends that pregnancy and maternity be transferred from Insurance to local Health Authorities, supported by grants in aid. We comment on this proposal elsewhere.

THE PLIGHT OF THE VOTELESS WIDOW

Better Treatment of Mothers Where Women Vote—How they are Penalised in Our Courts—Mrs. Savage Sees Her Children Again

PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS

Sarah Savage Case Impossible where Women Have the Vote

Now that the case of Mrs. Sarah Savage has drawn public attention to the plight of the working-class widow in this country, it is of considerable interest to note how widows are cared for in countries where women have won the power of the vote.

IN NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand the Widows' Pensions Act (1911) came into operation on January 1, 1912. In this Act the wives of men confined in mental hospitals are also included under "widows." The pensions are further made payable to the guardian of the children in the event of the widow's death.

Table of Widows' Pensions

The following table shows the pensions granted in New Zealand to widows:—

	Per Annum.
Widow with one child under 14...	£12
Widow with two children under 14	£18
Widow with three children under 14	£24
Widow with more than three children under 14	£30

She May Work as Well

One thousand three hundred and thirteen widows, according to the latest returns, are in receipt of these pensions. If the widow has an annuity or income of her own over £30, there is a deduction of £1 from the pension for every pound of private income that she has in excess of £30. This does not, however, include personal earnings of less than £100, for it is not supposed that the widow can entirely maintain her children and herself on the pension given; but it enables her to keep the home together, and by working in the mornings, or for two or three days a week, at the present rate of women's wages in New Zealand, she can support the family in comfort.

In addition, if a widow of 55 has one child or more under 14, she is granted her Old Age Pension at that age instead of waiting till she is 60. This amounts to 10s. per week.

"Grass Widows"

The deserted wife and the wife of a convicted criminal are equally well looked after in New Zealand, where the laws are made by women as well as men. Pensions similar to widows' pensions are granted to deserted wives, while ne'er-do-weel husbands are made to work for the State, as are also male prisoners and convicts, and the wages they thus earn are handed over to the wife and children. If they work well, there is a balance that is handed to the prisoner on his discharge. This provision is similar to the Lazy Husband Act, which was passed in Washington State, U.S.A., after women won the vote there.

THE CONTRAST

The Widow in England A LIVERPOOL REPORT

If we wish to contrast the treatment of the widow in New Zealand with that of the widow in this country we cannot do better than read the admirable report of the condition of widows under the Poor Law in Liverpool, recently presented to the Liverpool Women's Industrial Council by Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, and now published by them (price 3d., post free). It discusses with perfect fairness the attempts of the Poor Law to deal with the out-relief of widows with children, and discusses the recommendations of the Poor Law Commission for bettering their condition. But as a result of a perfectly independent investigation, conducted by independent social workers of experience who are not Guardians, the conclusion arrived at in this report is that "widows ought not to be under the Poor Law at all, and that Boards of Guardians are not the right bodies to deal with them."

Scale of Relief

With regard to the scale of relief, the W.I.C. investigators found that in the forty cases (taken at random) investigated, the average amount given per child per week worked out at 1s. 9d. Taking Rowntree's estimate (see Seebohm Row-

tree's "Poverty: A Study of Town Life") as a guide, they found that in seventy-seven families investigated, fifty-six were below his estimate of the minimum required for the actual necessities of life and twenty-one were above it. "In other words, 72½ of the cases have incomes which are insufficient, even if perfectly administered, to provide them with necessities for the maintenance of purely physical efficiency." And if, adds the report, their cases are typical of the whole (in the Unions investigated there are about 1,201 widows, having 3,612 children on out-relief), "it follows that about 888 of the women and 2,672 of the children are living under conditions of grinding poverty incompatible with healthy and happy life and almost certain to lead to physical degeneration and industrial inefficiency." (The italics are ours.)

Does Uncleanliness Mean Cruelty?

In view of the prevalence of so-called "cruelty" cases in which poor mothers are penalised for not keeping their children clean, it is interesting to read in this report that "often the children of the most respectable mothers come out worst in the matter of growth and physical condition. The rougher and more low-class mothers, who care little for appearances, probably spend a higher proportion of their income on food than those who are bent on living in a quiet street and clothing their children decently." So it amounts to this, that the widow on insufficient out-relief has to choose between soap and food for her children!

This low standard of living naturally accounts for the low standard of mentality among the children of such widows, which was found by the W.I.C. investigators. And it accounts further, of course, for the low state of health also apparent in the mothers. "That almost half of the mothers on out-relief in the whole country should be in poor or definitely bad health seems to us a very serious and significant fact," says the report, and on another page of it this human passage occurs:—

"The astonishing thing to us is not that so many women fail to grapple with the problem successfully, but that any succeed. If the well-to-do people who enlarge on the incompetence of the English working woman and undertake to teach her 'Mothercraft' had to lead her life under her conditions, how many of them could stand the strain for a week?"

No wonder, as the writer of the report proceeds to say: "Rather than make themselves and their children paupers they will work their fingers to the bone, and (in their own crude biblical phrase) 'pinch the children's bellies and their own.' But the future of the community depends upon its children, and it is not to its interest that their strength should be thus undermined."

The Reason For It All?

And the reason for this state of things? Hear the report on this matter:—

"The reason that the claim of widows for different treatment has been so long unrecognised is clearly not far to seek. All widows are women, and none of them therefore are enfranchised."

And it concludes by pointing out that "in several of the Colonies and American States where women have been enfranchised, one of the first fruits has been the passing of a 'Widows' Pensions Act.'"

Next week we hope to give some particulars of the provision made for widows in other countries where women have the vote.

"CRUELTY" CASE AT ST. HELENS

As we go to press we hear of another "cruelty" case at St. Helens, where four children were found shut in a room, two of whom had not been out of the house for two months. They were in a dreadful state of uncleanliness, and practically without clothing. The parents, whose defence was that the children had not been able to go out of the house because they had no clothes, were sent to prison for six months.

Not having seen more than a bare newspaper report of this case, we cannot give any opinion as to the justice of this sentence. But, judging by the result of our investigations in Mrs. Savage's case, we sincerely trust that a local enquiry will be made into this case at St. Helens, in order to ensure that the parents are not being penalised for their poverty and utter inability to keep the children in a fit state to be sent to school.

THE PENALISED MOTHER Legal Parent Exonerated

In three recent cases of child neglect the woman, although in the eyes of the law she is not the parent of her own children and has no legal rights over them, has been severely penalised, while her husband, who is at least equally responsible for their welfare since the law gives him the sole right to order their lives, has been punished with considerably less severity or has been let off with a fine.

The *Derbyshire Times* (February 28) reports one case, that of a man and wife summoned at Chesterfield County Police Court for gross neglect of their children, who were badly clothed and dirty. The woman said she had not had a sovereign since Christmas; she did not want to go to the workhouse, she could work for herself and the baby. The N.S.P.C.C. inspector said she never attempted to keep the children clean. A police constable said he had seen the man drunk several times, and she had had to fetch him from the public house.

Now, why was the woman sentenced to six months' hard labour, and the man only to two?

The second case, also a N.S.P.C.C. prosecution, is reported in the *Southwark and Bermondsey Recorder* (March 6) and is that of a man and his wife summoned at the Tower Bridge Police Court before Mr. Gill for neglecting their five children, who were dirty and verminous. It was suggested (not apparently proved) that the woman

was addicted to drink, and that the man took no steps to remedy affairs. The woman was sentenced to six weeks' hard labour and the husband was fined £2, and £3 3s. costs.

The Worst Case

By far the worst case, however, also given in the *Southwark and Bermondsey Recorder* (March 7) is that of a Walworth couple summoned by the N.S.P.C.C. at the Lambeth Police Court for neglecting their seven children, the eldest of whom was 11. The woman pointed out to the court that she was in a critical state of health and had four babies under the age of five to look after, and maintained it was not her fault they were neglected. Since Christmas her husband had kept the handling of the money because he thought she was extravagant. The man admitted there had been trouble over money matters and that previously to that the children were well looked after. They had always been well fed.

Mr. Baggallay remarked that there had been considerable neglect, principally on behalf of the female defendant. Had he ever tried to look after four babies, the youngest only three months old, and keep a home together without any control over the weekly income? Apparently not, for he sentenced the woman to six weeks' hard labour and bound over the defendant in £5.

It is cases like these that make some women feel they will go to any lengths to win the vote that will alone give the woman the status that is not hers at present.

THE CASE OF MRS. SAVAGE

Considerable interest has been taken in the release of Mrs. Savage, which we were able to announce in our columns last week. Many newspapers reproduced considerable parts of our article, and the *Star* devoted a broadsheet to the fact of her release.

Our Special Commissioner, Miss Neal, into whose care the woman has been committed, and the Editors of this paper, have received many expressions of congratulation on the effective way in which the investigation was carried out, and several additional donations have been sent to the fund. Miss Neal sends us her report of the present situation with regard to Mrs. Savage. She also supplies us with a list of subscriptions received to date, and encloses a copy of a letter she has sent to the National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

THE REPORT

Tuesday.

I have just had a report after the first visit paid to Mrs. Savage in her new home. The visit was unexpected, and my friend was received with a joyful smile, both from Mrs. Savage and her daughter Polly.

Mrs. Savage has settled herself in her home very happily, and had got everything very clean and nice. "I always was a one for a brush, and I shall have the boards as white as snow before I've done with them." Everything was set out to the best advantage, and she is quite house-proud already.

On Sunday she saw her children. They are well and happy, but they want to come to their mother. Through the kindness of her generous friends I am taking them all—Mrs. Savage, Polly, the three children, the married daughter, husband, and children—to the seaside for a week immediately after Easter. We shall be at the Green Lady Hostel at Littlehampton, of which I am one of the Hon. Presidents, and there I hope that in happy surroundings the last shadow on these lives will pass away. After that I hope I shall feel justified in letting Mrs. Savage have her children with her again.

MARY NEAL.

LETTER TO THE N.S.P.C.C.

The letter sent to the Secretary of the N.S.P.C.C. is as follows:—

Dear Sir,—Will you kindly, following our conversation, put the points in this letter before your next committee:—

1. That, in my opinion, the case was dealt with in a too sensational manner by your Society. See heading in the *Child's Guardian* to the account of the case, as calculated to give a wrong impression.
2. That no suggestion of adequate help was made to Mrs. Savage, nor any offer made to the magistrate to investigate the mother's life and circumstances further, leaving him no alternative but to convict this woman.
3. That the Society, having no women

inspectors responsible to this Society, is not in a position to deal adequately with cases such as that of Mrs. Savage.—Yours faithfully,
MARY NEAL.

A VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellow writes:—
"This morning at Covent Garden Market one of the women carriers mentioned the case of Mrs. Savage to me, and expressed great satisfaction at the result. All the market people know me as 'The Suffragette,' and several, when they are not busy, talk about it, and we give them papers. One woman is most interested and disappointed if she does not have one of the papers each week."

A Member of Parliament, writing to Mrs. Lawrence about the case of Mrs. Savage and her children, says:

"VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship has rendered a service which should command public approval and gratitude. The case has lifted a corner of the veil, and given the public an insight into the desperately hard lot of many poor widows with children, whose lives are one long, weary, hopeless struggle with grinding and killing poverty."

LIST OF DONATIONS

	£	s.	d.
Mr. R. C. Clough	1	0	0
Mr. A. E. Webster	0	5	0
Miss E. E. Pole	0	2	0
Mr. L. H. Bliss	1	0	0
Miss E. Beck	1	0	0
Anon.	0	2	0
Miss E. M. Harvey	0	2	6
The Earl of Selborne	10	0	0
Mrs. Fleming	2	0	0
A. B. and A. D. B.	0	10	0
Mrs. Curry	1	0	0
Mrs. Crisp	0	1	0
Mrs. Bennett	0	2	6
"A Fellow"	0	5	0
C. J. F.	0	2	6
C. W. and F. Beckett	0	5	0
Miss B. Harraden	1	0	0
Mrs. and Miss W. R. Davies	0	2	0
Madame Pasisti	0	3	0
Anon.	0	0	0
"A Fellow"	0	1	0
Miss C. Maud	0	5	0
Mrs. Gilmeur	0	2	6
Mrs. Cummings	1	0	0
Mr. J. E. Stalkart	1	0	0
Mrs. Roger Clark	0	5	0
Mrs. Jansson	0	5	0
Miss S. Barker	0	1	0
Miss M. Bowley	0	5	0
Miss E. James	0	5	0
Miss Morse	0	5	0
Mrs. Campbell	0	5	0
Mrs. G. G. Marriott	0	1	0
Mrs. Jansson (2nd donation)	0	2	0
Anon. per Daily Mirror	0	10	0
Mr. J. W. Hancock Steel	1	1	0
Miss K. Barker	0	1	0
Suffrage Friends	1	0	0
Subscription per Votes for Women Fellowship	4	1	0
Total	£30	4	0

Special for holiday at seaside for whole family:—

	£	s.	d.
Mr. L. H. Bliss	3	3	0
Rev. Percy Thompson	3	3	0

VOTELESS WOMEN AND THE STATE

Scottish Women Liberals Demand Government Measure—Bills Affecting Women Before Parliament—Rebel Women Occupy Question Time in the House

SCOTTISH WOMEN LIBERALS IN COUNCIL

The annual council meetings of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation were held last Friday and Saturday in the Queen's Hall, Edinburgh. Mrs. McKinnon Wood, the Hon. President, occupied the chair, and the bulk of the sittings on Saturday was devoted to the question of Woman Suffrage. A resolution was passed calling for a Government measure; a good deal of time was wasted in abuse of militant methods, against which a motion was carried, while an amendment condemning the unnecessary violence of the authorities and the invasion of public meetings by the police, was unfortunately negatived.

OPENING ADDRESSES

Mrs. McKinnon Wood

In her presidential address Mrs. McKinnon Wood spoke of Scottish Home Rule, and said that although she supported women's full claim to be enfranchised, she thought that the inclusion of women in the franchise for the Scottish Parliament would strengthen their cause all over the country. She went on to say further that she felt it was not the Prime Minister or local M.P.'s who could give them the vote, but the present electors, the men who had the vote; and if they succeeded in winning the Liberal Associations over to their side, then the victory was theirs.

Sir William Robertson

Sir William Robertson, dealing with the Suffrage question, said he thought Mr. Asquith made a mistake when he refused to receive a deputation from men representing all parts of Scotland—a non-party and a non-militant deputation—and his reason for thinking it was a mistake was that if those who followed constitutional lines were not received, it seemed to play into the hands of the extremists. (Applause.)

Sir Robert Murray

Sir Robert Murray strongly criticised the conduct of the police at the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst in Glasgow. He detested militancy, and he detested brutality. He protested against the conduct of their officials in Glasgow the other night. That day was a black spot on Scotland. They had no business to affect the methods of the London people. They could have taken Mrs. Pankhurst quietly to a roadside station, and asked her to go to Holloway Gaol. The methods adopted were not the custom in Scotland, and they would not have them. (Applause.)

A WARM DEBATE

Militancy Discussed

On Saturday the following resolution was moved by Mrs. Falconer, and seconded by Lady Robertson:—

"This council records its indignant repudiation of the violent and criminal acts committed in professed support of women's suffrage; condemns all such methods as being wrong in themselves and injurious to the cause; reaffirms its adherence to the principle of women's suffrage, and its resolution to support the cause by all constitutional methods."

Mrs. Falconer said she did not wish to say much about the first clause of the resolution, which she only wanted passed in order to make the position of the Liberal women of Scotland perfectly clear. Nevertheless, she took the opportunity to condemn recent militant actions, and the rest of the debate turned on this question.

A Sensible Rider

Mrs. Crosthwaite, while dissociating herself from militancy, moved this rider: "But the council also condemns the use of unnecessary violence on the part of the authorities—(applause)—and protests against the invasion of public meeting by bands of police as likely to cause panic and disorder dangerous to the public." (Applause.) They had had, she said, a recent exhibition of that in Glasgow, and while they all considered militant methods deplorable, at the same time they must consider also as deplorable the inefficient hanging of the authorities, and in Glasgow they had been subjected to what she thought was really an insult to their public life. (Applause.)

Mrs. Barton (Parkhead) seconded. As an eye-witness of what happened on Monday she could tell them that the authorities really bungled.

Other delegates also spoke against militancy, Mrs. Logan saying, however, that she was against it in the first place, she supposed, because she had not the courage to do what these ladies had done. Mrs. Falconer said she could not accept the rider on the ground that it was too general a statement of the matter, and Suffragists were often indebted to police for their protection at meetings and processions.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously, and the rider, when put as a separate resolution, was directly negatived by Mrs. Falconer, and her motion was carried by a large majority.

THE IMPORTANT DEBATE

Government Measure Demanded

A more statesmanlike tone pervaded the assembly when Miss Grierson (Glasgow Central) moved: "That this council reaffirms its belief in woman suffrage as a principle of Liberalism, is of opinion that a private member's bill for its promotion has little chance of becoming law, and calls on the Government to indicate at the earliest opportunity that they will adopt woman suffrage as a part of their programme in a future Parliament."

Miss Adam, Glasgow, seconded.

A Reactionary Amendment

Mrs. Cowan, Aberdeen, moved an amendment: "That this council is of opinion that while it supports every demand for the grant of the vote to women, it is not possible, in view of the present grave position in which the Government is placed, that Liberal women should demand a Government Suffrage Bill."

Mrs. Falconer supported the amendment. She said she did not think it was a practical position to take up to ask the Government at such a critical time to take a step that would involve many members of the Cabinet retiring, including probably the Prime Minister himself.

Mrs. Wood, Kilmacolm, pointed out that the resolution did not ask the Government to bring in a Government measure just now. The Liberal party were going to suffer if they did not do something for this cause. Some of their best workers were joining the Labour party.

Mrs. Hutcheon, Dumfries, said if Mr. Asquith had fulfilled his honourable obligations in this matter he would have had a solid phalanx behind him to carry him through this critical time.

A Betrayal of Democracy

Mrs. Crosthwaite said they should avoid the mistake of giving their worship to the ministers of their religion instead of to the religion itself. It was a betrayal of democracy for a Liberal Government not to enfranchise the women. This was one of the great spiritual movements of their time, and transcended all party.

Mrs. J. W. Gulland thought at a time like this the Government should not have their hands tied.

The resolution was adopted by 110 votes to 86.

BRAVO, PEELIES!

The following motion was discussed and carried at a meeting of the Presbytery of Peebles on February 26:—

The Presbytery, appreciating the zeal, devotion, and helpfulness of women in church work, and in all works of charity, remembering also that in the election of ministers of this Church they have a right to vote, and do vote, and believing that their political enfranchisement would tend to the moral and spiritual elevation of the people, sympathizing with women in their desire to obtain the rights and exercise the duties of citizenship in this realm.

WOMEN LOSE NATIONALITY

New Naturalization Bill Retains Provisions Against Women

A Bill for Amending the Laws of British Nationality and the Status of Aliens has been introduced by the Government into the House of Lords and passed through its second reading on Tuesday last in that Chamber. It will be seen that the obnoxious provisions relating to married women are retained in this Bill. They are contained in Clauses 10, 11, and 12, which read as follows:—

10. The wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien.

11. A woman who, having been a British subject, has by or in consequence of her

marriage become an alien, shall not, by reason only of the death of her husband, or the dissolution of her marriage, cease to be an alien, and a woman who, having been an alien, has by or in consequence of her marriage become a British subject, shall not, by reason only of the death of her husband or the dissolution of her marriage, cease to be a British subject.

12. (1) Where a person, being a British subject, ceases to be a British subject, whether by declaration of alienage or otherwise, every child of that person, being a minor, shall thereupon cease to be a British subject, unless such child, on that person ceasing to be a British subject, does not become by the law of any other country naturalized in that country.

Provided that where a widow who is a British subject marries an alien, any child of hers by her former husband shall not, by reason only of her marriage, cease to be a British subject, whether he is residing outside His Majesty's dominions or not.

(2) Any child who has so ceased to be a British subject may within one year after attaining his majority make a declaration that he wishes to resume British nationality, and shall thereupon again become a British subject.

MARRIED WOMEN AS COUNCILLORS

Mr. Herbert Samuel's Bill

The following is the text of the Bill introduced last week by Mr. Herbert Samuel, to extend the qualification for membership of County and Borough Councils:—

1.—(1) Any person of either sex shall be qualified to be elected and to be a councillor or alderman of a county council or

"I am the last person to desire fixity of tenure."



In an after-dinner speech last week Mr. Asquith said he would be the last person to desire fixity of tenure and the Premiership.

Our Artist suggests that the tin-tack in his chair of office is "Woman Suffrage."

of a borough council, if that person has resided within the county or borough, as the case may be, during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election:

Provided that a woman, if elected as chairman of a county council or mayor of a borough, shall not, by virtue of holding or having held that office, be a justice of the peace.

(2) The qualification under this provision shall be alternative for and shall not repeal or take away any other qualification, and shall not remove or effect any disqualification.

2.—(1) This Act may be cited as the County and Borough Councils (Qualification) Act, 1914.

(2) This Act shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland.

GLASGOW PROTEST

A deputation of prominent local Suffragists waited upon the Glasgow magistrates on Thursday last week, to protest against "the violence and brutality of the officers" in arresting Mrs. Pankhurst. Miss Janie Allan cited several cases of injury to offending women from the thrashings of the police, and stated that sworn statements to the cases would be given if desired. She also protested against the treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst by those who arrested her, during her drive in the taxi-cab, and against her having been kept at the Central Police Office all night instead of being lodged recently in Duke Street Prison.

"It is discreditable," added Miss Allan, "to the city that a woman like Mrs. Pank-

hurst should be pursued by such petty and mean restraints of cruelty, and it has certainly aroused the most violent indignation amongst a very large body of both men and women."

The magistrates remitted the matters raised by the deputation to the Chief Constable for report.

Deputation to House of Commons

A deputation of Suffragists, headed by Mr. Scott-Dickson, came from Glasgow last Tuesday and interviewed the Scottish members with regard to the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst in that city. They were told that the matter was "outside Mr. McKenna's jurisdiction, and should be laid before the Glasgow Corporation. Their request to see the Premier was refused.

Will the matter rest with the local authorities, we wonder, when it comes to the next General Election?

LIBERALS AND PRINCIPLE

Speaking at Ayr last Friday Mr. F. D. Acland said the enfranchisement of women was one of the things Liberals had got to undertake if they were to pursue their principle, and if they wanted to enfranchise women they would not really have any difficulty with regard to the opinions of particular Ministers.

JUST IN TIME

Mr. Hemmerde, K.C., M.P., saved himself only just in time from being summoned as a "robber and pilfer" under the Edward III. statute, when addressing the Home Counties Union of Women's Liberal Associations in the Portman Rooms last week.

Touching upon Irish grievances, he roused applause by saying that a Government had only got itself to blame if people took the law into their own hands when the law was utterly unfair and unjust.

Then he remembered he was a Liberal, and that some at least of his audience were Suffragists. "At the same time," he added hastily, "I should not consider it an effective protest if a smallholder, with a view to showing his indignation, were to go and burn the Town Hall in King's Lynn, or to throw something at the picture of the Mayor."

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Mr. McKenna in the Pillory

Recent revolutionary actions have provoked a flood of questions in the House of Commons. Scarcely a day passes without question time being marked by the spectacle of the Home Secretary in the pillory, the butt of indignant enquiries from both sides of the House, from Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike.

Mrs. Pankhurst

Last Monday Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether the arrangements for the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst at Glasgow had his assent or approval, if not, by whose authority the platform was raided?

Mr. McKenna replied, referring him to the Secretary for Scotland, and said: No directions were given by me. It was by law the duty of the police to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst who was a prisoner convicted of felony and illegally at large.

In answer to a similar question by Mr. MacCallum Scott, he repeated that no directions were given by him. The police, he said, simply carried out the duty imposed on them by the law.

Other Suffragist Prisoners

In answer to Mr. Arnold Ward, the Home Secretary said, last Monday, that he could not say how many undetected crimes had been attributed to militant suffragists. The difficulties had been very great, but in a considerable proportion of the cases the criminals had been traced and brought to justice.

In answer to Mr. Keir Hardie on the same day, Mr. McKenna said: The number of women now in prison under my jurisdiction for crimes committed in connection with the suffragette agitation is eleven. Of these, three are being fed artificially. One has been so fed since January 8, but in her case no force is required; she insists on being fed by tube, but offers no resistance. The other two have been fed artificially since February 26 and March 12 respectively.

LAUGHING GAS BEHIND THE GRILLE

The Times states that recent attempts to improve the ventilation of the House of Commons have only succeeded in manufacturing a kind of laughing gas particularly noticeable in the Ladies' Gallery.

Are the authorities sure that it is the bad air which is responsible for this effect behind the grille? We should have thought there was plenty of reason on the floor of the House for the display of derision behind the grille.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP.

A FREE MEETING

will be held on
Thursday, March 26, at 8.30,
In the
SMALL ESSEX HALL (Strand).

Speakers:

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,
Mr. HAROLD LASKI
(of the Oxford M.P.U.),
Mr. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Readers of **VOTES FOR WOMEN** and friends are cordially invited to be present.

All Lovers of the Antique and Beautiful.

Are invited to inspect our latest Inspiration Rings.

Made from the bridges of the Old Verge Watches.

Gold mounted from 6/6. Enamelled and Jewelled from 12/6



The exquisite art of past centuries adapted to modern adornment.

In our large collection of 12,000 not two of the same design.

Also Largest Stock in the World of **Genuine OLD CAMEOS**

Far Superior and Cheaper than New Ones.

Selections sent on approval.

Long membership of Suffrage Society sufficient reference for us.

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ED. GOOD, 1, New Oxford St., W.C.
(Opposite British Museum Station).

THE LIFE OF EMILY DAVISON

Over a life swift, condensed, and heroic it is idle-ness to spend many words. Emily Davison passed unhesitatingly, the lightning expression of the spirit of a brave movement; and we who remember her know that she lived and died as in her clearest moments she would have chosen.

My first clear recollection of her is in Newcastle Police Station, when, as I was being led away from my comrades, she appeared at the opening in her cell door, and spoke to me rapidly in French. Her only thought was that something unpleasant might be about to happen to me. Of her own situation, in a filthy, insanitary cell, she characteristically seemed to care nothing. She looked as I have always seen her, sunny and brave, with that light on her face which suggested some secret of her nature which in a few years we were all to read. The sketch of her life by "G. Colmore" is brief, but probably contains all that need be known. The clever woman, the loving daughter and friend, the valiant fighter—in each aspect she is put clearly before us; and we learn that as a child she had that same indomitable spirit which enabled her to sacrifice her life for the freedom of all women, and which makes her deed and its memory imperishable. She was happy, and found the fulfilment of her nature in obedience to the motto she had chosen for herself—that "rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God."

J. E. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Wealth: A Brief Explanation of the Causes of Economic Welfare." By Edwin Cannan. (London: P. S. King and Son. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"White Slaves of Toil." By W. N. Willis. (London: C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd. Price 1s.)

"The Woman With the Pack." By Gertrude Vaughan. (London: W. J. Ham Smith. Price 6d. net.)

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

The London season is approaching and visitors will be coming to town from the country and abroad. Our paper, owing to its international character, should be on sale in the streets everywhere, so that the woman's movement may be explained and spread all over the world. We must have many more sellers to do this special propaganda work. A seller was told the other day of a stranger to the movement who joined the Fellowship through having bought a paper from her "for her pluck."

More workers have come forward to help at the Oxford Street pitches, where supplies are kept, but we have not enough. Those who can give any kind of help should send in their names or come to see the Hon. Organiser of the paper-selling department, who attends at the office all day on Thursdays to meet workers.

"The Life of Emily Davison: An Outline." By G. Colmore. The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House. Price 6d. net.

THE URBITOR BURBERRY

The permanent characteristic of the British Climate is its changeability—settled contrariety—changes of weather—which call for something out of the ordinary as protective covering

THE URBITOR. under these conditions, is invaluable. No other overcoat or weather-proof offers so many advantages.

Be the weather mild or chilly, an **URBITOR** is the coat to wear. In the former case, it is light and air-free; in the latter, its dense weaving prevents penetration by wind or cold.

The weather may be wet or fine; an **URBITOR** is the best coat on each occasion. Its non-absorbent nature keeps out heavy rains in a wonderful way. There is no soaking, consequently no dragging weight of water to be carried.

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8 and 10, Boulevard Malesherbes, PARIS;
Basingstoke; and Appointed Agents in Provincial Towns.

ACTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:—

Wednesday, March 11.—An unsuccessful attempt to fire Park House, Edgbaston, Birmingham, a large unoccupied house. Suffrage literature found.

Thursday, March 12.—Robertland House, Stewartland, Ayrshire, an unoccupied house belonging to the United Free Church, almost totally destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £1,600. Suffrage messages found.

Two windows broken with a poker at a recruiting office, Glasgow; one arrest.

Friday, March 13.—Package dropped into letter-box at Hatton Garden Post Office, which set fire to postal sack into which it fell, damaged some letters, and was finally extinguished by a postman with the aid of sand.

Saturday, March 14.—Windows broken in Mr. McKenna's house, Smith Square; six arrests.

Tennis pavilion, Olton Club, Birmingham, burnt. Suffrage pamphlets found. Damage estimated at £400.

Sunday, March 15.—Interior of Birmingham Cathedral covered with Suffrage messages, such as "Votes for Women," "The clergy must rise on our behalf," in white enamel.

A number of railway coaches, on a shunting of the Midland Railway near King's Norton, burnt. Damage estimated at £1,000. Suffrage messages found.

Corrosive fluid in three pillar-boxes in Belfast, considerable damage.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 12.—At the London Sessions, before Mr. Wallace, K.C., indicted for damaging the Rokeby Venus, Miss Mary Richardson, sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

At the Central Police Court, Glasgow, before the Stipendiary Magistrate, charged with breaking two windows, Mrs. Helen Crawford, ten days' imprisonment, and ordered to find surety of good behaviour for six months, in default an additional twenty days' imprisonment; fifteen days allowed to find the surety.

At the Old Street Police Court,

charged on remand with assaulting a policeman, Miss Nora Smyth, fined £15 and two guineas costs, or one month's imprisonment. Fine not paid.

Friday, March 13.—At the Western Police Court, Glasgow, charged with assaulting the police at the time of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest, Mr. J. A. Robertson, discharged.

Saturday, March 14.—At the Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Horace Smith, charged with breaking windows and stained glass in a door at the Home Secretary's residence, Mrs. Dove Wilcox, Miss Douglas, Miss Gwendoline Cook, Miss Pearce, Mrs. Hopkins, and Mrs. Fahey, sentenced to two months' hard labour each.

Tuesday, March 17.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Hopkins, charged with being on enclosed premises for an unlawful purpose (in the Lobby of the House of Commons disguised as a man), Miss Catherine Wilson, sentenced to six weeks' hard labour.

PRISON GATES OPENED

Last Saturday both Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Sylvia were released from Holloway Gaol, having again broken bolts and bars by means of the hunger and thirst strike. Mrs. Pankhurst, who was arrested at Glasgow on the preceding Monday evening and conveyed to Holloway on Tuesday, was brought away in a taxi-cab on Saturday morning, and afterwards removed in an ambulance to Campden Hill Square in a very weak and exhausted condition.

We understand that she is suffering not only from hunger-striking, but from the severe treatment she received at the hands of the police in Glasgow.

The following table of Mrs. Pankhurst's imprisonments, published in the *Times*, shows that in 111 months she has served only one month of her sentence of three years' penal servitude.

Imprisoned	Released	Days
April 3.....	April 12.....	Nine
May 26.....	May 30.....	Four
June 14.....	June 16.....	Two
July 21.....	July 24.....	Three
December 4.....	December 17.....	Three
December 13.....	December 17.....	Four
March 9.....	March 14.....	Five

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who had been in Holloway Gaol since the preceding Sunday, was also removed in an ambulance to her address at Ford Road, Bow, about three o'clock on Saturday afternoon. Enquiries later produced the disquieting report that her condition was most serious. As we go to press we are glad to learn she is slightly better.

Released Hunger-Striker

Last Tuesday Mrs. Hopkins, sentenced last Saturday to two months' hard labour for breaking Mr. McKenna's windows, was released in an exhausted condition after hunger-striking.

THE "BLACKFOOT" RAID

What the *Globe* describes as a "Blackfoot" raid took place in the early hours of Saturday morning on 36, Smith Square, Westminster, the residence of the Home Secretary. About 12.45 a.m. a private motor set down six women at the corner of the square, who all proceeded in Indian file along the railings to No. 36, on which they made a furious onslaught with hatchets, sledge hammers, and life preservers. Guarded as Mr. McKenna's house is known to be, the "Blackfoot" tribe on this occasion thoroughly outwitted the police, and before they could be arrested had broken all the stained glass panels in the porch and several of the windows of the house—in all, twenty-one panes of glass.

In the Police Court

On Saturday morning, the six women were charged before Mr. Horace Smith at Westminster. They were Mrs. Dove Wilcox, Miss Douglas, Miss Gwendoline Cook (who gave her name as "Boadicea"), Miss Pearce, Mrs. Hopkins, Mrs. Fahey.

Mr. Horace Smith, silencing a defendant who tried to explain her action on political grounds, said: "You need not trouble about that. The papers are full of arguments on both sides. I have heard enough and do not want to hear any more. Anything relating to the present charge I shall be pleased to hear."

Two Months' Hard Labour

In answer to another, he said: "I have not time to listen to matters which are absolutely irrelevant. I may just say this, that in the course of a long experience as

a Police Magistrate I have never heard a more sad and deplorable story than that which has been told me in this Court to-day. You will each undergo two months' hard labour."

"Not one of us will do it," said one of the women.

SUFFRAGIST DISGUISED AS A VOTER

A Monstrous Sentence

The monstrous sentence of six weeks' hard labour was passed upon the Suffragist, Miss Catherine Wilson, who, disguised as a man, obtained admission to the central lobby of the House of Commons on Monday evening, and was found to have a riding whip concealed in her sleeve.

When brought up at Bow Street on Tuesday before Mr. Hopkins, the defendant said that if she had carried out her purpose either Mr. Asquith or Mr. McKenna would have got a good thrashing.

THE PUBLIC PANIC

So great has been the panic caused by the attack upon the Rokeby Venus that in addition to the art galleries and palaces which were announced in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN* as closed to the public, other public buildings and national art treasures have been guarded with the most extraordinary precautions. The Houses of Parliament were closed to the public over the week-end; and in the provinces women have been debarred from using the reading-room in the new Free Library at Stratford. Three famous pictures—Watts's "Hope" and "Peace and Goodwill," and Holman Hunt's "Light of the World"—have been removed from the walls of St. Paul's to the crypt. The British Museum so far remains open, but a large number of extra police have been drafted into the galleries and reading-room for its extra protection. We hope, for their own sakes, that the plain-clothes gentlemen, who have to pretend to be "readers" all day long, are naturally of a studious disposition.

During the meeting of the Free Church Council at Norwich last week, detectives guarded the pictures in the St. Andrew's Hall, and two of the more valuable were covered with a tarpaulin.

As we go to press we learn that the National Gallery will be partially reopened to students on certain days in the week.

SOME NOVELS

To suffragists, Arthur Schnitzler's clever and extremely ugly picture of Viennese life will suggest the problem whether, failing the right solution—that men and women should be placed on a moral equality—it is not better for women to be frankly on an immoral equality with men than to be judged perpetually by a hypocritical standard which assumes that women are naturally moral and men naturally immoral, and that laws and customs must be framed in accordance with this assumption. From Mr. Schnitzler's book, "The Road to the Open,"* translated by Mr. Horace Samuel, it appears that there is very little tendency in Viennese society to conceal the irregular relations of men and women, and proportionately little tendency to attach any social ostracism to the women. As a novel, his book becomes a little wearisome with its perpetual insistence upon the sex relationship; it is therefore all the more refreshing to find that when George von Wergenthin returns to his mistress, Anna Rosner, secretly bored with the alliance, but trying outwardly to work up a semblance of his old passion for her, it is she who quietly and composedly gives him his dismissal, and calmly prepares to take up her musical career and her home life again at the place where he had entered into both. Besides this main theme, there is a vast amount of detail in the book as to the position of Jews in Vienna, which is valuable and interesting to those who care about the Semitic question.

In "Gold Lace,"† Ethel Colburn Mayne attacks the same eternal theme of the relations between men and women, but from a different standpoint. She draws a remorseless picture of the petty flirtations that go on among the officers from the barracks and the girls of the town, in a little Irish garrison town; and brings into this trivial surrounding a clever sophisticated London girl, who sees through the whole business and does not leave the place until she has sown the seeds of knowledge in the minds of the girls who, until now, have allowed themselves to be the passive sport of the boys of the regiment, these being, in many cases, engaged to women elsewhere. The results of her visit are very cleverly worked out; and the book is worth reading as a study, if rather a repellent study, of the efforts of a lot of girls, none of them particularly clever, to absorb the new ideas

* "The Road to the Open." By Arthur Schnitzler. (London: Howard Lottimer. Price 6s.)
† "Gold Lace." By Ethel Colburn Mayne. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.)

and apply them to the respectably sordid conditions of life in a garrison town.

"The Hat Shop,"* by Mrs. C. S. Peel, is a pleasantly written account of the business enterprise of a young widow, who sets up a millinery establishment, and after making a success of it passes it on to her chief assistant, and marries the handsome elderly man who has been waiting in the background all the time. The book is evidently written by one who has experienced the ups and downs of business life, and is sympathetically aware of the horrible difficulties that beset women under present economic conditions.

"Crying for the Moon,"† by Nancy Pain and Winifred Rose, is a very cheery piece of frivolity, making no demands upon the intellect and helping to pass an hour or two very pleasantly. By this we do not mean that the book is not cleverly written. It is very cleverly written, and if, as we suspect, it is the authors' first book, it is full of promise. Though drawn, evidently with intention, only from the outside, the characters of the little group of people, who meet and fall in love and part in a country cottage near the Chilterns, are all admirably drawn; and the touch of pathetic absurdity in Gwen's romantic passion for an actor who is also a bounder of the first rank, is just what is wanted to add a little balance to the frivolity. If the authors decide to be more serious next time, and to adventure on the history of young women who are not content only with falling in love with the first young man who comes along, we think they will not be altogether unsuccessful.

In "The Making of an Englishman"‡ Mr. W. L. George gives us one of the most finished pieces of work he has yet accomplished. He returns in it to his favourite theme of the psychology of the alien who finds himself in London, confronted with all the ideals and the failings, the vices and the virtues, that have "made England what it is"; and in Lucien Cadorese we have an admirable picture of the modern young Frenchman who is also an Anglo-maniac. Herein lies the real interest and also the subtlety of Mr. George's book. His Frenchman does not want to be French; he wants to be English, and therefore he sees his England through rose-coloured spectacles, and gives his creator the opportunity to criticise English standards and English prejudices from the point of view of a critic who will not be unfair to either. Incidentally, this involves a certain amount of criticism of the position of women in this country, which is interesting, even where it does not show complete enlightenment.

* "The Hat Shop." By Mrs. C. S. Peel. (London and New York: John Lane. Price 6s.)
† "Crying for the Moon." By Nancy Pain and Winifred Rose. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 2s.)
‡ "The Making of an Englishman." By W. L. George. (London: Constable and Co. Price 6s.)

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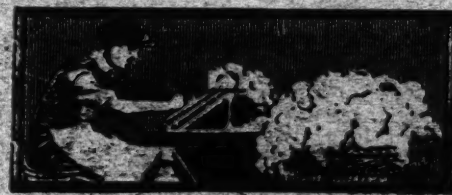
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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 3s. 3d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 3s. 3d. (\$3.25c.) and 4s. 3d. (\$1.15c.) abroad, payable in advance.

The Paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls. In New York, at Brentano's; Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta; and at Handel House, Ltd., Eloff Street, Johannesburg.

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FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1914.

WOMEN UNDER THE INSURANCE ACT

A debt of gratitude is owed to the Research Committee of the Fabian Society for the masterly investigation which they have recently carried out into the working of the Insurance Act. Their interim report has been published by the *New Statesman* in the form of a special supplement to last week's issue, and we reproduce on page 375 the principal parts of the report dealing with the position of women under the Act. The fact that the report is not a political document constructed for the purposes of making political capital against the Government, but a plain record of fact, serves to bring out into all the more startling prominence the glaring injustice with which a Parliament of men responsible only to men electors have treated the women of the country.

The cardinal error of the Act is that though it is called "national" and professes to deal with "national" sickness, it is, as a matter of fact (with a solitary exception), concerned solely with the sickness of persons engaged in money-earning occupations. While, therefore, it provides sickness benefit, disablement benefit, and medical attendance for practically the whole male working population because they are wage earners, it excludes from benefit two-thirds of the female working population, because they give their arduous labour without money payment to the care of the home.

So far as the money benefits for sickness and disablement are concerned, there is at first sight a certain amount of justification in confining them to the wage earners, not because they are paid by the wage earners—for the money really comes out of the family income—but because they are given with the view of replacing the money lost to the family when the wage earner is out of work. It must be remembered, however, that disablement benefit is in reality a kind of premature old-age pension, which in the vast majority of cases will accrue to the individual after the partner of his life is dead. What the Act does, therefore, is to build up out of the savings of the family a fund to provide this old-age pension for the aged widower, while leaving the aged widow penniless to face the world.

So far as the medical benefits—attendance and drugs—are concerned, there is not even this shadow of justification for giving them solely to the wage earner. The effect of the Act is that men receive medical attention, medicine and care in their illness, while the great army of women who as wives and mothers are carrying on a heroic struggle in the homes are left to suffer unvisited by the doctor, without proper remedies, without care or attention. This is strikingly brought out by the Report in dealing with the provision for tuberculosis. The Act, it is true, states that the treatment for consumptives, including the famous "sanatoria," may be extended to the "dependants" of the insured person. As a matter of fact, however, the money has proved in-

sufficient for providing treatment for all the insured persons, and therefore not a single one of the "dependants" has benefited by it—the rule in these matters being that men are to be served first and (if there is anything left over) the women afterwards.

To this exclusion from benefit of homekeeping wives and mothers there is one exception—the provision made for maternity. The Report testifies to the fact that where this is given it is, on the whole, working well, but it calls attention to the grave scandal that over half a million women, through no fault of their own, are at the present time excluded from participation. The principal class are the wives of some 120,000 employees of the Government itself, with regard to whom the Government has substituted for the benefits supplied by the Act a different category of benefits, in which maternity benefit does not figure! Can anyone suppose for a single moment that the Government would have dared to do this if they had been dependent on the votes of women as well as on those of men?

Leaving now the case of homekeeping women and coming to the case of women wage earners who are themselves insured persons, the Report states that

It is plain that nearly all the Approved Societies wholly or largely made up of women are overweighted. They cannot carry their present burdens without imminent insolvency. This is not due to any fault of their administrators, but to a blunder of the Government, which took the sickness experience of a society of men as a guide to that of four million industrial women wage-earners, and forgot, moreover, as it seems, all about pregnancy!

When we have a Government composed solely of men elected solely by men, and rigidly confining all its important positions in the Civil Service solely to men, this failure of the political machine to take into account the cardinal facts of women's life is perhaps less surprising than inexcusable.

In order to make up for this Government blunder, various attempts are being made, with or without the connivance of the Insurance Commissioners, to deprive women of the benefits to which they are entitled. Some Societies are refusing to pay sickness benefit during pregnancy, giving as their reason that pregnancy is not a form of sickness contemplated by the Act. They ignore, as the Report points out, that it is not disease but incapacity to work that forms the true criterion. Others are withholding benefits from insured married women because they have been found, while unable to work at their trade, doing the very lightest work in the home; others have unduly delayed the payment of benefit to women, thereby rendering them unwilling to waste time by applying for it. On the top of all this there are threats of legislative action to deprive women of part of their benefits or to increase their premiums!

The true fact is that the women's side of the account is weighted down by all the expenses connected with child-bearing, which should really be a national charge. The Fabian Report recognises this, and recommends that pregnancy and maternity should be removed from Insurance altogether and dealt with by the Local Health Authorities with the aid of a substantial new annual Grant in Aid. We demur to this remedy, which we think would tend to make the benefit a pauper gift. We consider that these matters have been undertaken in connection with Insurance, and should now be dealt with properly through Insurance. But the women's side of the account has to be assisted by the State. At present the State pays out of national money some five millions a year to the men's account (2d. a week for ten million men) and only some two millions a year to the women's (2d. a week for four million women). By redressing this balance there will be money enough not only to make the woman's side of the Insurance Act solvent, but also to do something for the homekeeping women who have been so shamefully treated.

What prospect there is of this adjustment or of the removal of the other injustices to women in the Act, so long as women remain voteless, we do not know. But until they are removed we shall continue to point to the provisions of the Insurance Act as providing the most damning criticism of a purely male administration which refuses to give women any share in the making of the laws and which treats their interests with such scandalous disregard.

SHOULD WOMEN RIDE ASTRIDE?

Kaiser Forbids Women to Ride Astride—Is it Injurious and is Unsafe?—Special Messages to "Votes for Women" from Experts

Last Saturday, an order signed by the Kaiser appeared in the semi-official organ, "Militarische Korrespondenz," forbidding the wives of officers to appear on horseback otherwise than on a side-saddle. This peremptory prohibition has naturally provoked the question, "Should women ride astride?"—and a good deal of discussion has followed in our English newspapers, which are never backward, of course, in hastening to decide what is good or bad for women to do.

A Medical Opinion

"A medical correspondent" writes to the *Times* to point out that the Kaiser's order "will afford satisfaction to all who realise the dangers of this absurd fashion."

"It is no exaggeration to say that a woman who habitually rides astride endangers her health and courts disaster which, though long delayed, may be of a very tragic kind. Woman, as the mother of the race, must on no account jeopardise her ability to perform the function of motherhood safely and efficiently."

"The strain accompanying the new 'seat' tends to displace certain vital organs, or at least to render their supports insecure, and to foster malposition and even prolapse."

Is It a Safe Seat?

This letter was followed up in the same paper last Tuesday by a letter from another anonymous medical correspondent, who quotes from "an expert riding master" to prove that riding astride is not the safest seat for a woman.

These two points, the medical objection and the question of safety, seemed to us to be worth investigating in view of the popular tendency to find plausible reasons for limiting the activities of women, and in view, therefore, of the bearing of the matter in dispute upon the whole question of women's freedom of action. We have accordingly made some enquiries of various people qualified to give an opinion on the matter, and publish below a selection from the replies we have received.

EXPERT OPINIONS

(Special to VOTES FOR WOMEN.)

MR. C. MANSELL-MOULLIN, F.R.C.S., M.D.

Mr. Mansell-Moullin, the well-known physician and surgeon, writes:—

It is currently reported that the Kaiser has forbidden the wives of officers in his Army to ride astride on horseback. The reasons are not stated. The Kaiser, of course, can do as he likes, and his subjects must obey. But the medical correspondent (anonymous) who tries to improve the occasion by rushing into print with wild statements about absurd fashions, dangers to health, and tragic disasters in the future, simply shows how ignorant and how prejudiced he is. As a matter of fact, the side-saddle is quite a modern invention. Our ancestresses, the mothers of the men who made England what it is, knew nothing of it; and at the present day the finest races of women the world has ever seen, and the mothers of the finest men, all ride astride. The malpositions and prolapse of which he speaks are the outcome of muscular weakness; and when the traditions of the Victorian era are finally swept away, and women's muscles are exercised, as they used to be in ancient Greece, so that they become models of strength and grace, no more will be heard of troubles of that kind.

A holiday on Exmoor, up and down the combs, might perhaps open his eyes a little.

DR. FLORA MURRAY

Dr. Flora Murray writes:—

It is my experience that the cross-saddle is a safer and more comfortable seat than the side-saddle. It is a great advantage that the spine may assume its natural curves, instead of the twist required by the side-saddle, and that the limbs have a freedom. I can see no reason for the assertion that the "seat" causes displacement or endangers health; on the contrary, it saves the rider fatigue and muscular strain.

MESSRS. BURBERRY

Messrs. Burberry, the well-known tailors, write:—
"A glance at our books for the years 1912-13, as compared with the previous two years, has disclosed

that the proportion of clients riding astride has almost doubled, and that the great majority fitted by us for the present season, particularly of the younger generation, have chosen their habits with the obvious intention of riding astride. Our experts observe that the increase has been most noticeable recently at the leading meets, and, in their opinion, it has many advantages for both horse and rider, especially where long runs are more the rule than the exception. From the standpoint of style, the custom of riding astride does not, perhaps, command universal favour, but we hold that where exercise and sport be the object in view, the prime consideration should be the comfort of the rider and her mount. A well-known authority, connected with the firm, has informed us that riding astride increases in popularity, and from a humanitarian point of view is entitled to the support of all horse-lovers, as riding side-saddle eventually affects both the health and value of the quadruped. In conclusion, we may add that, to satisfy all tastes and to meet the demand for such a garment, we have devised a habit which appears equally charming whether used side-saddle or astride."

We have also made enquiries among the Principals of girls' schools, who, however, do not feel justified in giving us their own opinion on the subject, as those of their pupils who ride astride have the question decided for them by their parents.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

The *Times*, while asserting that medical men "are, generally speaking, strongly opposed to the new fashion," admits that a few doctors "do actually support the movement, so far as it affects young girls, believing that a straight seat encourages a straight and buoyant carriage."

In the Hunting-Field

The same paper states that in hunting circles, especially in the North, one sees almost as many women riding astride as side-saddle, and says the opinion is that this method is more rational and less cruel to the horse. The *Times* also repeats what our correspondent, Mr. Mansell-Moullin, says, that women used to ride astride as a matter of course—until the 12th century, in fact.

A West End riding master informs the *Pall Mall Gazette* that the new fashion is not "catching on"; two or three women in a hundred ride this way, and they, in his opinion, "are not womanly women"! He admits, however, that a corkscrew figure is avoided by riding astride, also that there is no danger of falling and being dragged by the stirrup.

Kaiser's Protest Too Late!

The *Evening News* thinks that the Kaiser's protest "has come too late," as far as England is concerned. The manager of the Regent's Park Riding School told their representative that the practice is "largely on the increase." All little girls, he declares, should ride astride, "as it strengthens the back to an appreciable degree."

THE TRUE ENDOWMENT OF MOTHERHOOD

By T. O'Meara

We have heard a great deal lately—we shall probably hear more—of that great sociological question, the endowment of motherhood. Already we have made a small beginning in this country with the beggarly Maternity Benefit of 30s., and in parts of Australia, where women have the vote, the 30s. has become a five pound note. So far, good; and a badly needed boon to the working woman. Even if the money goes only "to pay the back rent," there is one worry the less.

But there are many writers and thinkers who advocate sweeping extensions of this reform for quite different reasons; who propose it, frankly, as an inducement to "the better class of women"—meaning the better educated, more intelligent, more far-sighted women—to have babies and babies, and still more babies. They say, in so many words, that they would "make maternity a profession." And no doubt their intentions are quite excellent; but are they referring only to maternity, or to motherhood?

"Children at So Much a Pound"

For, personally, I believe that if we were to adopt, let us say, Mr. Wells's latest proposal (based, apparently upon the text, "to him that hath shall be given") and reward each proud Mamma, whatever her station in life, with a bonus in proportion—not in inverse proportion—to the income she already has, the immediate result would be a tremendous drop in the birth rate; a slap straight in the face of the State, to disprove the insulting suggestion that any self-respecting woman is going to devote her life to bringing children into the world at so much a pound. It is a curious thing, but men never seem to realise that motherhood means something more than the bearing of a child. "Child," to them, reads "infant"; preferably, "unweaned infant." The woman with a baby in her arms receives much sentimental masculine adoration; but, once the baby is old enough to leave her arms and toddle by himself, they regard her devotion with a less sympathetic eye—she ought by rights, they think, to be preparing for the next one; leaving her first-born to the fatherly care of the vaccination officer, the education officer, the schoolmaster, the policeman, and the employer of juvenile labour. Her business, in fact, is to produce new citizens in perpetuity, for ever and ever, and take no more interest in their future lives than a brood mare takes in the racing records of her progeny.

"A baby," said some unctuous male speaker at an after-dinner meeting, a little while ago, "a baby is the most precious thing in all the world." Curious, if this be true, how rapidly its value decreases with the lightest weight of years. . . . This terrified,

pitiable little servant girl, hunted into a corner like a wild animal, has painlessly put an end to the life of her new born girl-child; oh, monstrous crime! Oh, blasphemous perversion of the sacred instinct of maternity! But, if she had not done this wicked thing—if the girl-child had lived and thriven, until it was ready to repay the society which had nurtured it with the gift of its own young strength and beauty and wit and potential motherhood—then, the same judge who has delivered such an edifying sermon from the Bench to this inhuman mother, would have considered a twenty shilling fine quite sufficient deterrent for the weak-minded criminal lunatic who brought about its utter and everlasting ruin. And pray, how many years is it since the little servant girl was herself a baby!

"Will no the Siller Mak' It Easy?"

Oh, yes, my lords and masters; motherhood is a noble thing; and a great joy and a high privilege it is, to bear you ten children in twelve years. (All for the sake of the State, of course, and the weary feet of the little half-timer sound pattering along the pavement!) But, my lords and masters, what of the children already here? Can any monetary encouragement for us to emulate the rabbit wipe out the black discouragement we may get from a walk any day through the mean streets of our great cities—any night through the streets of our great cities? My lords and masters, do you know the stupid, selfish type of boor who fancies that he can atone for his worst blunders in hard cash; whose plea is ever the plea of the Laird o' Dumbiedikes: "Will no the siller mak' it easy?"

"Come, let us take your children," say you, my lords and masters; "let us starve them, bully them, overwork them, poison them with bad food, set them to slave in our shops and factories, send them over the desolate earth as food for powder—or worse, taint them with foul diseases ere they are born, seize upon them for our profit and pleasure ere they come to their full growth, drag them down to the gutter and the gaol ere your own hair is grey, catch, with a bait of romance, in the trap of the most disgraceful system of marriage laws in any civilised land; and see, here are thirty pieces of silver to tempt you to bear us more children, that we may serve them the same. For what an unthinkable calamity, if the demand for this cheap raw material should ever exceed the supply! Come, show your confidence in us! 'Will no the siller mak' it easy?'"

When will it occur to you, my lords and masters, to endow motherhood by endowing all women with the full rights of citizenship, with the right to help in making the world a better place for all children to grow up in—even at the final sacrifice of some cherished dirty rag of man's dishonour? Or is it all hypocrisy, after all?

"PRISONS AND PRISONERS"

Prisoners, I wish I could give to you, for your joy,
something of the help you gave to me, and that
in many ways I could follow your example.

Reduced facsimile of Lady Constance Lytton's left-hand writing, taken from the MS. of the introduction to her book

Lady Constance Lytton's book, "Prisons and Prisoners," has had an excellent reception in the Press, and has been very widely reviewed since its publication a fortnight ago. We give below a few extracts from these reviews, and hope to publish a further selection next week.

"Things that Matter"

In the *Pall Mall Gazette* (March 5), Mr. Filson Young's daily contribution under the heading, "The Things that Matter," took the form of the following appreciation:—

I spent yesterday evening reading Lady Constance Lytton's book, "Prisons and Prisoners." I will not say a word on the subject that directly inspired it—Votes for Women.

But I will say, because I deeply believe it, that no man or woman could fail to be the better for reading it. It is reasonable without being subtle; it is searching without being aggressive; it is courageous without being truculent. It is profound without being heavy, and exciting without being sensational. It is gratefully enlightened with humour. Above all, it is sincere in every word. The author's accounts of her experiences at Holloway, Walton, and elsewhere bear, if I have any competence to estimate and weigh the written word, the stamp of truth. Like certain Russian books of the last century in which life, denied official expression, blazed into literature, it contains stuff which must help to change the thought of this country on social matters of the first importance. Few people—not I, at any rate—can be quite the same after reading it.

It is dedicated to prisoners of every kind; to whom no more beautiful word than this, concerning those who try to help them, was ever written: "Unless they truly understand your lot, understand your goodness as well as your badness, and sympathising with your badness as well as with your goodness, they will seem far off from you. Who knows, though, but that you may help them?"

Filson Young.

Mr. Tighe Hopkins in the "Daily Chronicle"

In the course of a long and extremely sympathetic review in the *Daily Chronicle* (March 4), Mr. Tighe Hopkins says:—

Among the women who, with the high and noble ends of suffragism in view, have gone to prison for conscience, is the author of this book; and she has suffered imprisonment not once but four times. It is indifferent flattery to say of Lady Constance Lytton that she has been one of the real heroines of her cause, for she has endured in it above most of her sister suffragettes.

To learn that some of your companions in the cause are being submitted to the steel gag and the feeding-tube, to be persuaded that this is very painful and infinitely humiliating (compliments to his lordship of London!), and then to decide that you will go through the experience yourself in the only way that is possible—well, this is playing the game! And this is precisely what "Jane Warton" did. The ruse of "Jane Warton" is not without an element of grim humour, but we may more fittingly regard it as a brave woman's contribution to a discreditable chapter of prison history.

Indirectly, Lady Constance Lytton's book, simple and unaffected and appealing on every page, is the most important criticism that we have of the present state of women's prisons and of the women in them. It will, I think, assist the cause of suffragism. It must inevitably assist it not too far a day the cause of prison reform.

From the "Daily Telegraph" (March 4)

Lady Constance Lytton has written in this small volume a deeply impressive work—she is a "militant" proud of her militancy and yet has told the story of her imprisonments in a way that is so

far removed from temper or sensationalism as to be deeply impressive. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that the most prejudiced of "antis" could read this book without being impressed, not only by the sincerity underlying the women's demand for the vote, but also with the fact that the wholesale imprisonment of "Suffragettes" has but served to show some of the ways in which woman's influence requires to be felt through our legislation. Indeed, it might conceivably be claimed that "militancy" has almost justified itself in the light it has let in on police-stations and prisons—through the familiarity with such places acquired by women of culture and refinement who are able to boast of their acquaintance with them, and can thus write frankly of matters which other "criminals" are shy of discussing. Splendid as was the work achieved by Elizabeth Fry, it is impossible to refrain from comparing the work of one who visited gaols as an external student and humanitarian with that of such women as Lady Constance Lytton, who have resolutely gone to prison as prisoners that they might further advertise the political cause to which they are devoted and have experience of what imprisonment means. If it be said that Elizabeth Fry was a philanthropist—it may well be retorted that true philanthropy is itself at the base of the women's demand, and should any doubt it, let them read this simple but striking book for themselves.

Mr. Robert Lynd in the "Daily News"

Here we are face to face with a religious ardour, a readiness for self-sacrifice, a knightly disregard of comfort and common-sense and consequences, which can only be paralleled in the history of revolutions and religious revivals. One may disagree with the methods of the militants as much as one likes. But the amazing rapture with which they go about their business is one of the twentieth century's miracles. It was this that led Mr. Bernard Shaw in "Androcles and the Lion" to draw—or, rather, to hint—a comparison between the suffragette prisoners and the early Christians in Rome. It is as clear as noon that if these ladies had to face being thrown to the lions for their beliefs they would finish as little as they at present do before the assaults of the mob or the pains of forcible feeding.

Lady Constance's book is the passionate testimony of one who volunteered for martyrdom. She was forcibly fed, like any other suffragette, the doctor sitting on her knees as he forced the tube down her throat. The details of the business are disgusting even to read about. For a refined woman to have to submit to it must be about as near martyrdom as a European lady can get in these days.

There, anyhow, is Lady Constance's story—a very moving and remarkable addition to the literature of the prison.

From the "Manchester Guardian" (March 4)

This narrative raises the most searching and fundamental questions of ethics, of the psychology of women, of political rights and duties, and it raises them by a challenge so child-like as to extort answering candour and humility from any sensitive reader. Some people will, of course, object that Lady Constance Lytton is a fanatic, and, having pigeon-holed her as a fanatic, they will decide that she need not be listened to. She is a fanatic; be that granted. But she is a fanatic in a cause which has moved men and women for centuries and that is now stirring the whole world as no other cause is doing, except the cause of labour, with which it has so many and such striking affinities. This cause is the freedom of women, and the Parliamentary vote is its symbol. One can conceive of nothing more calculated to encourage fanaticism among women of excessively idealistic temperament than that they should see the inside of our prisons and, while there, should reflect that the making and administering and enforcing of the law are entirely in the hands of men, and that the results are before them in the bruteries and indecencies described in this book.

"Prisons and Prisoners" is on sale at the Votes for Women Fellowship Offices, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., price 3s. 6d. net.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Girl

The *Manchester Guardian* (February 24) reports a case of a milk dealer charged before the Southport magistrates with seriously assaulting a domestic servant twice. His counsel said "in a moment of aberration" he had done something for which he profoundly apologised. The girl supported the plea for leniency out of consideration for the man's wife. The charge was reduced to common assault.

Sentence: Fine of £10 and costs in each case.

Blinding a Pit Pony

The *Derbyshire Times* (February 28) reports case of a miner charged before the Alfreton magistrates with striking a pit pony in the eye with a pick shaft and blinding it. He said he did it in a temper because the pony had eaten his dinner. The magistrate said the maximum penalty was £25 or three months.

Sentence: Fine of 10s. and 7s. 6d. costs.

Man slaughter

The *Times* (February 17) reports case of a motor lorry driver charged at the Central Criminal Court before Mr. Justice Horridge with the manslaughter of a man, who was knocked down and killed by the lorry dashing on to the pavement. Two other people were also knocked down. There were previous convictions for being drunk when driving, and for reckless driving.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour and licence to be endorsed.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Stealing £2

The *Daily Mail* (March 9) reports case of a man charged at Middlesex Sessions with stealing a purse containing £2 from the hands of a baby in a perambulator. Mr. Montagu Sharpe took the opportunity to complain of women with perambulators who did not look where they were going; and a police sergeant added that they complained if they lost their property. Did he expect them to like it?

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

Uttering a Cheque

The *Times* (March 4) reports case of a tailor charged at the Central Criminal Court before the Recorder with uttering a forged cheque for £220. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

Fraudulently Obtaining £40

The *Daily Telegraph* (March 4) reports case of a broker charged at the Central Criminal Court before the Recorder with obtaining sums of money to the value of £40 from three firms. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT

It is impossible to read the records of the police courts without realising how often the benefit of the doubt is given to the defendant in cases of assault upon little girls, for want of corroborative evidence that is, of course, almost impossible to obtain in such cases. The *Liverpool Echo* (March 11) reports the case of a man charged with indecent assault upon a little girl of seven; he was discharged, the Chairman remarking that they would give him the benefit of "the very slight doubt that they had in the matter." It is a terrible thing to convict an innocent man; but it cannot be wholly coincidence that the benefit of the doubt is so often given in cases of this sort, and never in cases where Suffragettes are convicted on police evidence which conflicts at every point with the evidence brought by the defendant and her witnesses.

THE HAMMERWOOD CASE

It is, of course, difficult to give an opinion on a case which has been heard throughout in camera; but two points stand out clearly in the case just concluded at the Lewes Assizes (see *Sussex Daily News*, March 16) of the wealthy American engineer, sentenced to five years' penal servitude for serious offences concerning the elder of his two daughters. One is that if five years is an adequate sentence for the most horrible offence a man can commit, then the underpaid bank clerks who utter forged cheques, the labourers who fire ricks, and others who commit offences against property alone, ought not to be equally given five and seven years' penal servitude as so frequently happens in the Courts. And secondly, by a recent Act (1908) such cases as the Hammerwood one are heard in camera, which means that the witnesses, in this case two girls of thirteen and twenty, have to give their terrible evidence and submit to a painful cross-examination in the presence of men alone. It is in order to reform this sort of thing that women are fighting so hard for their political and legal equality with men.

"ONLY RATHER ROUGH WITH HIS WIFE"

How much may a man knock his wife about without suffering for it? In a summons brought by a wife against her husband at the Woolwich Police Court before Mr. Symmons for persistent cruelty, she said he had struck her on several occasions (see *Pioneer*, March 6). Mr. Symmons said there was no evidence of persistent cruelty—it was only a case of a husband who was rather rough with his wife. The summons was dismissed.

"Give 'im one and run!"

We begin to understand the point of view of the woman in the open-air crowd at the Poplar by-election, who, when the "Anti" speaker said the ill-used wife had a remedy in the magistrate, gave a contemptuous sniff and remarked, "She dunno what she's talking about! What's the use of magistrates? Give 'im one and then run, that's what I do to mine!"

REJECTED ADDRESSES

The following letter, which was addressed to the *Daily Telegraph*, has been sent to us for insertion:—

To the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*.

Dear Sir,—The lamentable news of the woman's outrage on the Rokeby Venus, in your columns of to-day, was read by me consecutively with a letter from a friend of mine on the South Coast, telling me the following facts: That a vicar's wife, also my friend, who, in spite of the frailest health, devotes her life to the good of those around her, had been labouring to trace a girl, the daughter of most respectable people in their parish, who had "disappeared under ominous circumstances." She was known to have been "keeping company" with a soldier in a certain barracks. My friend, the vicar's wife, went from place to place to interview people, and during the course of her experiences one police official said to her, "Madam, these cases are of daily occurrence." The major of the regiment said the same thing, adding that such an offence was not a "military" offence, and therefore could not be touched by military authorities. I am a constitutional Suffragist, always strongly opposed to militant methods, but the indignation I felt at the outrage on the most beautiful woman on canvas paled before my indignation at these "daily occurrences" of outrage on our living women, which the machinery of the present Government seems unable or unwilling to redress, and I appeal to all good men everywhere to look into the heart of things, and call in women citizens to aid them in what they cannot apparently do unaided, and so remove the fundamental cause of this terrible destruction of property and treasure, but help to get laws made and obeyed for the safeguarding of the honour and lives of the women of this land.—I am, yours faithfully, E. CARY.

WHAT IS MOTHER?

The following answer to the question, "What is mother?" were given, according to the *New York American*, by so-called feeble-minded schoolchildren of New York:

She's what you chop wood for.
She's what feeds you.
She's what puts clothes and shoes on you.
She keeps care of you.
She's who's good to you.
She's your creator.
She's what's dead on to me.

From the above it would appear that one touch of "mother" makes the whole world kin.



District Visitor: "Well, Mrs. Jones, what do you think of the Suffragettes?"
Mrs. Jones (holding her hand to Saturday's black eye): "If women goes on as they are doing, we'll be losing all our privileges, I'm thinkin'!"



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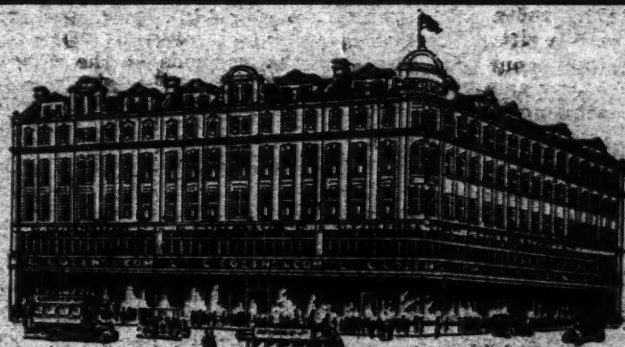
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THE ROKEBY VENUS

Miss Richardson Sentenced—Panic in the Galleries

In view of the widespread importance attached to the injury of the Rokeby Venus by a suffragette—Miss Mary Richardson—we give her speech from the dock in full. The sentence of six months' imprisonment was inflicted upon her, the maximum penalty for injuring an art treasure. Mr. Wallace adding regretfully that "if it had been a window" he "could have passed a sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment."

"I Plead Guilty"

"As it was a premeditated act I plead guilty," said Miss Richardson, on the indictment being read to her.

Mr. Travers Humphreys, prosecuting for the Commissioner of Police, characterised her action as "senseless and wicked," "a dastardly outrage without any sort or kind of sense in it," doubted whether she could "really be in possession of her right senses," but admitted that there was "no medical evidence to show anything otherwise than that she was a person responsible for her actions," and his lordship would have to deal with her on those lines.

The Defendant's Speech

Miss Richardson, looking weak and ill (she had been on hunger-strike since her arrest two days before) was asked if she had anything to say, and spoke as follows in a calm and collected manner but with great feeling:—

"I should like to say, as my act was premeditated, that I thought over it very seriously before I undertook it. I have been a student of art, and I suppose care as much for art as anyone in the gallery on Tuesday morning. But I care more for justice than I do for art, and I firmly believe that when a nation shuts its eyes to justice, and prefers to have women who are fighting for justice ill-treated, maltreated, and tortured, that such action as mine should be understandable—I don't

say excusable, but it should be understood. I should like to point out, as the prosecution has taken pains to go into the dastardly nature of my outrage, that the outrage which the Government has committed on Mrs. Pankhurst is an ultimatum of outrages—it is murder, slow murder, and premeditated murder. That is how I have looked at it.

A Lesser Crime than Murder

"In view of the fact that the Government permit murder, I think that anything that suffragettes do naturally falls into a lesser degree of crime than murder. How you can hold them up to ridicule and contempt and put them into prison and say nothing to the Government which commits murder, which is an outside crime, I cannot understand; also, when men taxpayers are willing to allow thousands of pounds to be spent in this elaborate and expensive arrangement of injustice. It costs thousands and thousands to keep up this inquisition of women, when a little, simple, inexpensive legislation would stop this matter in ten minutes. It is not looked on in that light. They prefer to spend thousands to provide detectives and in other ways for this inquisition of women, who are fighting for what they believe in. The fact is that the nation is either dead or it is asleep.

"The Nation is Dead"

"I think it has been undoubtedly proved that the nation is dead, because women have knocked in vain at the door of Ministers, bishops, archbishops, and even the King himself; the Government have not opened any doors whatever. A state of death in a nation as well as in an individual leads to one thing, and that is dissolution, and I do not hesitate to say that if the men of this country do not at the eleventh hour put out their hands to save Mrs. Pankhurst before it is too late, before a few years are passed they will put their hands out in vain to save the Empire. I know you will sentence me. Your sentence will not really make much

difference, not only from the fact that I can only stand a few months' torture, but from the fact that I am really a grateful and happy woman to have been able to live in a century in which Mrs. Pankhurst was, and in some slight measure I have tried to carry out what I believe in. It matters, therefore, not what becomes of me in the future."

Mr. Wallace having pointed out to her that acts such as hers would never advance any cause, Miss Richardson said quietly:—

"I must persist in what I believe in."

Mr. Wallace: I cannot go into these matters. The amount of damage in connection with this charge is immaterial, because the destruction of a picture like this, if the picture were destroyed or mutilated, no money could replace it.

Richardson: Do you realise that you cannot replace Mrs. Pankhurst? No money under the sun can replace her. She is being killed slowly. I have seen a difference in the last twelve months.

Mr. Wallace: I have nothing to do with that. You have pleaded guilty, and you have gloried in this crime.

Richardson: I don't say that. I think it a great shame that I had to think it my duty to do it.

Mr. Wallace: With the greatest regret it is my duty to pass upon you a sentence of six months' imprisonment.

A PRESS VIEW.

The *Daily Herald* in a leading article on the case says: "It is the Government and the House of Commons which are responsible for the condition of things which produces Mary Richardsons and the like."

The only way out is for the House of Commons to redeem its own honour, and at once give the necessary time for the passage of a Woman's Suffrage Bill."

The *Irish Citizen* comments on the leading article in the *Irish Times* deploring the injury to the Rokeby Venus, and adds drily: "We did not notice any leading article in the *Irish Times* deploring the

inhumanity of the repeated arrests of Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst under the Cat and Mouse Act, both of which have been exemplified, with added brutalities, this week. One must preserve a sense of proportion."

The Priceless P.W.W.

"P. W. W.," of the *Daily News*, lets the cat out of the bag in his ingenious way when he says: "There is no difficulty about arresting these women and securing their conviction and sentence. What Parliament has to face is the subsequent hunger strike."

AT LAST!

Out of a number of M.P.'s interviewed by a *Standard* representative on the subject of the injured Velasquez, only one is reported in that paper as having made a reply taking a wide view of the situation. Mr. F. Bennett-Goldney (U., Canterbury) took a strong view, says the *Standard*, of the militant policy, and thought that by making raids on museums the Suffragettes were injuring their cause. "But he held that the remedy should be found not in deportation, but in advancing some distance towards meeting the grievance of the women. He would give female property holders the franchise."

IN BIRMINGHAM CATHEDRAL

Early on Sunday morning it was discovered that Suffragists had been at work during the night in Birmingham Cathedral, for Suffrage messages had been inscribed in white paint on the Burne-Jones window, on the pillars, floors of the aisle, vestry door, side galleries, and pulpit. The chancel was untouched. "Votes for Women," "Stop forcible feeding," "The clergy must rise on our behalf," were some of the messages thus painted. It is believed that it will cost some hundred pounds to repair the damage, and that the work will probably necessitate the closing of the Cathedral for some weeks.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

The panic in the museums and art galleries has been reflected in the House of Commons, where question time has been marked day by day by appeals to Cabinet Ministers for greater protection of our art treasures and sterner coercion of militant suffragists.

Last Monday, the Prime Minister had to assure Mr. Bennett-Goldney that consideration was being given to the points raised by him in a question respecting the increase of grants to museums and galleries for the maintenance of a more adequate staff of caretakers, and the merits of ex-soldiers for these particular duties.

The Prime Minister had further to assure Mr. Ormsby-Gore on the same day that no warning had been received at the National Gallery of any attempt to be made upon pictures, especially upon the Rokeby Venus, by the Women's Social and Political Union.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore then returned to the charge, and forced from the Prime Minister the admission that the whole question of the adequacy of the precautions against malicious injury to the pictures at the National Gallery was under consideration, including the provision of railings in front of the pictures.

Miss Mary Richardson

Last Monday, Mr. McKenna, in reply to several questions by Earl Winterton, said that Miss Mary Richardson was not of unsound mind when examined last October, that there was no present ground for releasing her, that the danger to the public was never left out of consideration, and that if it were only a "so-called hunger strike" he would certainly hope not to have to release her. In answer to Mr. R. Harcourt, he had observed a statement mocking the inefficiency of the law.

The Limit

No answer was given by the Prime Minister to Earl Winterton, who enquired how it was that a woman "known to be a desperate person" was admitted to the National Gallery without even her mail being searched.

Attacks from Without

Mr. Bigland, M.P., seems to fear that the suffragettes will attack our national art treasures even if shut out from the galleries, for on Tuesday last he asked the Secretary to the Treasury if any precautions were to be taken to prevent stones being thrown from without at the windows of the British Museum. In his reply, Mr. Montagu stated that it is proposed to move some of the collections in the Museum to a gallery in the new building, of which the floor is twelve feet above the street level. The front of the building, he added, will be protected by police.

Pictures "Practically Invisible"

An official interviewed by the *Morning Post*, somewhat ingenuously remarked that, "Unfortunately, if we adopt fully adequate precautions the national treasures, especially the pictures, will be practically invisible." So Mr. Haselden's cartoon is not so much exaggerated, after all!

PUNCH'S POETIC JUSTICE

The public indignation against the woman who damaged the "Rokeby Venus" continues unabated, and most inhuman propositions are being made. One gentleman has even been heard to suggest that the woman ought to be made to serve her term of imprisonment in the Royal Academy.—*Punch*.

THE "DAILY MIRROR" VIEW



[Reproduced from the "Daily Mirror"]

How Our Public Art Treasures Will Be Viewed in the Future

FORCIBLE FEEDING DEPUTATION TO THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

A deputation from the W.S.P.U. waited upon the Bishop of Manchester, as previously announced, last Friday, to ask for his support in agitating for the repeal of the Cat and Mouse Act, and for the cessation of forcible feeding.

Mrs. Forrester said that in proportion to the intensity of their desire for political freedom was their resolve to resist imprisonment of women. This resistance made those in power face the position clearly. It was simple logic. Militancy would go on. The indomitable spirit of the women who were in the front line of the Suffrage fight would not weaken. Political freedom was the price of cessation of hostilities. Punishment could go no further in any case, and could never be a deterrent to the militant women.

If the Bishops had made a stand in the House of Lords the Cat and Mouse Act would not have been passed, continued Mrs. Forrester. The bishops could secure its repeal, and the doctors could secure the abolition of forcible feeding; and then the Government would be driven to face the problem of finding the time and the honesty to act according to Liberal principles.

Mrs. Aldridge spoke of the growing unrest and discontent among women that such a state of things should be allowed to continue; and Mrs. Cohen urged that it was a degradation to the nation that such things should be done by a Government rather than that women should be given the vote.

The Bishop of Manchester said he reserved his judgment; but asked if any men had used the hunger strike, how any such had been treated, and whether many prisoners would not use the hunger strike for getting out of prison if it were not a deterrent?

Mrs. Forrester said that Mr. Connolly during the Dublin strike had been released after a hunger strike, but that the showing of the apparatus to an ordinary prisoner was enough, or just one operation if he threatened to strike.

The Bishop: Do you suppose that Sir Edward Carson would hunger-strike if he were proceeded against?

Mrs. Forrester: Yes, if his patriotism is sincere.

The Bishop: Well, I don't express an opinion.

Mrs. Forrester: You do on Home Rule, sir.

The Bishop: Yes, I express an opinion when I choose.

The deputation then left, after the Bishop had shaken hands with its members.

The deputation stated that they did not regard the interview as satisfactory, and it was decided to send to the Bishop newspaper cuttings and sworn statements by those who had been forcibly fed, medical opinions, and so on.

The Bishop's Judgment

The Bishop sent his reply to the deputation later in writing, and said that the process must be as disgusting to those who execute it as to those who suffer from it, but society when attacked by violence has a right to defend itself. "I regret the measures of which you complain as much as you regret them, but even if I were willing to take such a course I could not advise the Government to abandon its only known method of protecting the subject against violence. This is precisely the unpleasant duty for which authority is committed to them, but if you will give me a solid guarantee that all attacks upon property and person will be permanently abandoned by your Union I shall be quite prepared in my place in the House of Lords to advocate the repeal of the Act of which you complain and the immediate release of all prisoners now suffering from militancy."

DRUGGING SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

It will be remembered that recently released Suffragist prisoners who had been forcibly fed showed signs of bromide poisoning and other evidence of having been drugged when forcibly fed in prison. A correspondent, who formed one of a deputation who have been calling upon medical men with a view to rousing them on the matter, informs us none of the doctors thus approached seemed surprised at the suggestion that drugging had been resorted to. They seemed, on the contrary, to think it a reasonable and likely thing to do, and several mentioned that it was a common practice in lunatic asylums.

Out of fifteen doctors seen by this particular deputation, "one only was in full sympathy," writes another member of it. "A second was very courteous and to some extent sympathetic, but thinks militancy a mistake, counsels patience, and will not help. Two more were quite civil, but unhelpful. Six were more or less civil, but cared for nothing but the man's point of view. Five were very rude. No one would protest now, but two had done so previously. As a whole, the doctors' mental attitude surprised, angered, and disgusted us. Women are on a low plane in their eyes."

With regard to forcible feeding, "most excused this, some approved, and a few approved drugging also. Three urged the

frequency, benefit, and long possibility of this in asylums. Several said we brought it on ourselves. One would treat militants as lunatics."

LET THEM DIE!

It is some evidence of the opinion held by the Home Office of the hunger-strikers that the Lobby Correspondent of the *Evening News* should have to admit, in discussing the demand of some excited people that these women should be left to die: "The Home Office authorities are convinced that many of the women would welcome this chance of offering themselves as martyrs to the cause."

INDIGNATION IN VANCOUVER

At a meeting of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, held on January 24, a resolution was passed unanimously and forwarded to Mr. McKenna, denouncing forcible feeding and the Cat and Mouse Act as prejudicial to life and health and a revival of medieval torture, and protesting in the name of humanity against both these practices.

SUFFRAGISTS AND THE CHURCHES

Westminster Abbey on March 22

The following letter was sent to the Dean of Westminster by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst immediately after her release from Holloway Gaol last Saturday:

"A large party of Suffragists from East London intend to march together to take part in the evening service at Westminster Abbey on Sunday, 22nd inst., to pray for the granting of votes to the women of this country, and for the saving of the hunger-strikers, and the speedy conclusion of hostilities between the women and the Government, on terms of peace with honour."

"We trust that, as far as possible, the service will be adapted to this occasion and to the great cause for which we shall pray together."

We are informed that the East London Federation of the Suffragettes will march in procession to the Abbey on this occasion, starting from Ford Road, Bow, at 4.15, and halting on the way at Gardiner's Corner, the Bank, Ludgate Circus, and Trafalgar Square.

Last Sunday's Intercessions

Before the sermon at evensong at Westminster Abbey last Sunday a number of women seated near the Poets' Corner rose and chanted a prayer for Mrs. Pankhurst.

Suffragist intercessions were also made on Sunday at York Minster, Glasgow Cathedral, and other churches, the women in most cases singing their chant in unison, and then either leaving the building or remaining quietly in their places until the end of the service. At Brighton Parish Church, a woman stepped out into the aisle and chanted a prayer for Mrs. Pankhurst, and on the verge of requesting her to leave, another woman called out, "This is the House of Prayer; let her remain."

A TAX RESISTANCE SALE

Silver belonging to Mrs. C. R. Tolle-mache was sold at the White Hart Hotel, Bathaston, on Thursday last week. The goods had been distrained in consequence of Mrs. Tolle-mache's tax resistance. A speech was made in the auction room and afterwards a successful protest meeting was held at which a resolution protesting against taxation without representation was passed.

SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT'S SON

An unexpected legacy has come to the Suffrage cause in a sum of £500 which has been left to the N.U.W.S.S. by the late son of Sir Almroth Wright, the well-known Anti-Suffragist. This is the second legacy bequeathed to the movement by members of Sir Almroth's family, the first being from Lady Wright's sister in 1912.

AN ATTRACTIVE PROGRAMME

The performance to be given by the Actresses' Franchise League at the Arts' Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, W., next Tuesday afternoon, sounds particularly attractive. The cast includes, among others, Miss Lillian Revell, Mr. Philip Tonge, Miss Barbara Everest, and that promising young actress, Miss Irene McLeod, who has not been seen too often since her clever performance in "The Eldest Son." And the three one-act plays to be given include a new one called "Which?" by Evelyn Glover, whose "Chat with Mrs. Chicky" has delighted many Suffrage audiences. Tickets must be obtained beforehand from the A.F.L., as no money may be taken at the doors.

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SOUTH AFRICA

The Hon. Hugh Wyndham's Bill

Because there was a chance of making a third-rate joke, some of the papers announced last Friday that the third reading of the Hon. Hugh Wyndham's Woman Suffrage Bill would be taken in the South African Parliament on April 1. But for this chance of displaying the humour of a bygone age with regard to woman suffrage bills, the news would probably not have been thought worthy of publication.

The Bill, which was read a first time on Thursday in last week, will, if passed, enfranchise women who possess the qualifications that now entitle men to vote, with a slight reservation in regard to married women who are joint-owners of property with their husbands.

UNION FOR WOMEN SUFFRAGE OVERSEAS

Miss Hodge's Tour

Miss Margaret Hodge, who has just returned from a tour through Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, starts on

Saturday, March 21, for New York, and intends visiting that city and Chicago. She then hopes to spend about two months in Canada, though she will not be able to go further west than Winnipeg. She spent fifteen months recently with her friend, Miss Newcomb, in the British Dominions of the Southern Hemisphere, and a Union for Woman's Suffrage for the British Dominions Overseas was inaugurated in New Zealand, and the idea was cordially received in the Commonwealth and the Union of South Africa.

Miss Hodge hopes to find favour for this Union in Canada, and this is the main object of her visit. Miss Newcomb, as Hon. Sec. of the new Union, will remain in London to prepare the way for the first meetings of the delegates from the different quarters of the world, on July 9, 1914. Miss Hodge is fortunate in having for a fellow traveller Miss Dorothy Pethick, who will represent the Votes for Women Fellowship, and they hope by their united efforts to spread the knowledge of the Suffrage movement in Great Britain, and incidentally to extend the circulation of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.



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arouses vitality
in all run-down
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(Doctor's letter, shown on request.)

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FELLOWSHIP MEETINGS

Enthusiasm at Bolton and Southport

The Spinners' Hall, Bolton, was crowded to its utmost limit on Monday night, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke to a meeting organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship. Mrs. M. E. Cousins, whose work in Ireland is well known to our readers, took the chair, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence explained the demand on which all the Suffrage societies were uniting for a Government measure for the removal of the sex barrier. She also showed the reason for the present anti-Government policy and for regarding the Labour M.P.'s as not truly representative of an independent party, but as a wing of the Government supporters. A strong resolution, moved by the Rev. Leigh Orton and seconded by Mrs. Lawrence, was carried unanimously.

On the following day, under the chairmanship of Miss Kate Ryley, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence addressed an enthusiastic audience which filled the Carnegie Hall, Birkdale (Southport) to overflowing. The resolution was again carried unanimously, and an almost verbatim report of Mrs. Lawrence's speech appeared in the local paper next day.

Miss Phyllis Lovell, the Lancashire organiser, is to be congratulated on the remarkable success of these meetings.

At Cricklewood

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was the chief speaker at a meeting held in St. Gabriel's Hall, Cricklewood, on March 5. If one can judge by the enthusiasm of the audience and by the numbers who came to hear what Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had to say, one can only say that the tide of opinion in favour of women's enfranchisement is indeed coming in fast. An interesting feature of the meeting was the presence on the platform of ministers of various denominations from churches in the neighbourhood, an illustration of the fact that the Church now begins to recognise that the emancipation of women is an essential outcome of Christianity.

The resolution moved by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence protested against the omission of the subject of Woman Suffrage from the King's Speech, deplored the manner in which the present Cabinet had treated that question, and called upon the Government to bring in a Bill for the enfranchisement of women during the present session of Parliament. This resolution was seconded by Dr. Letitia Fairfield, the second speaker, and on being put to the vote was carried with one dissident.

The meeting was ably presided over by the Rev. Dr. Macgowan, who in his introductory remarks gave his reasons for believing that the cry of women for liberty—after fifty years of preparation—had the voice of God behind it. Financially the meeting was a great success, over £10 being handed over to the Fellowship after all expenses had been paid.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

Sends Good Wishes to Fellowship

Mrs. Jopling Rowe informs us that in reply to a request to speak at a Fellowship meeting, Mrs. Annie Besant has cabled as follows:—

"Am in India. Hearty sympathy. Wish success. Besant."

ANTI-SUFFRAGIST DEFEAT AT EXETER

(From a Correspondent)

A recent event of importance at Exeter has been a triumphant Suffrage meeting—arranged by the Antis.

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage has, in fact, been conducting a west country tour that has brought

out the great progress made during the last year by Suffragism. At meetings held at Exmouth, and at Sidmouth, the Suffrage element was so strong in the audience that the organisers did not dare to take a vote, and so put no resolution. They made a tremendous effort at Exeter, where they are supposed to have a very flourishing branch. Local "Antis" canvassed practically all the principal business houses. Bills were issued broadcast, announcing a "public meeting" to take place in "the Barnfield Hall on Friday; speakers: Miss Gladys S. Pott and Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A.", and adding:—

"Electors of Exeter are specially invited to attend and demonstrate their opposition to the swamping of their votes by the addition of millions of women to the Parliamentary Register."

In addition, Mr. H. B. Samuels held a week of open-air meetings to work up interest in the forthcoming event. Parenthetically, one may observe that it would really "pay" any Suffrage society to engage this gentleman officially to come and talk Anti-Suffragism in its neighbourhood. Some idea of the effect of his arguments—they were the stock ones of the Antis, may be gathered from the remark of a shrewd working-man among his audience in the Fountain Square in St. Sidwell's Street. "I used to be against the Suffrage for Women," he said; "but," addressing Mr. Samuels, "I heard you at Gervase Avenue last night, and I've heard you again here to-night, and now I'm for Votes for Women decidedly."

There was a large but not crowded audience in the Barnfield Hall on Friday, but it was soon apparent that a big proportion had Suffrage sympathies. The Chairman said, in effect, that women were all very well in their place, but that all the really important work of the world was done by men. Miss Pott then took the field, and was listened to in almost complete silence. The Chairman made no mention of a resolution, but, having presumably tested the audience and come to the conclusion that it might be adventurous, Miss Pott moved, at the close of her address, that the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women was undesirable in their own interests, and would be prejudicial to the State, and that such a change ought not to be entertained unless upon the clearly-expressed opinion of the electorate.

Mr. Maconachie followed, both speakers so dragging out their speeches that it looked as if there would be no time for questions. Several were asked, however. The first was: "If Anti-Suffragists consider that Women's Suffrage would be such a danger to the country, as they say, why don't they hold more meetings against it? Suffrage meetings outnumber 'Antis' by ten to one." "Antis," Mr. Maconachie replied, "can make more headway with one meeting than Suffragists can with a hundred"—an answer which was quite laughable in view of what followed.

Mr. Maconachie having claimed that the return of Anti-Suffragists at certain recent bye-elections showed how unpopular votes for women had become with men voters, an elector asked if Women's Suffrage was really an issue at elections? The platform fell into the trap at once, and hailed this citizen as a supporter. Suffragism, Mr. Maconachie said, beaming, was never regarded by men voters as of sufficient importance to be an issue at elections. "Then why claim the sending of Anti-Suffragists to Parliament as a victory for your side?" asked the questioner.

The Chairman was by this time growing "nervy," and on another man asking if he might put a second question, said: "I don't know. I must know what it is first."

Voting was by a show of hands, and it was at once obvious that the resolution was lost, the Chairman proclaiming that he thought there was a small majority against. "Not small!" the Suffragists cried, and at their request the vote was taken again, those against the resolution rising in their places. They were then seen to be in a large majority.

COMING EVENTS

"Votes for Women" Fellowship Meetings

The Fellowship will hold a meeting for Fellows and friends at the small Essex Hall, Strand, on March 26, at 8.30. Speakers: Mr. Harold Laski and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The Ilford Group of the Fellowship are organising a Jumble Sale in aid of their local fund. Fellows are asked to help. Hon. Sec., Mrs. Crouch, 132, Wellesley Road, Ilford.

Lancashire Centre

Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

There will be readings from Olive Schreiner's "Women and Labour" at 15, Hoghton Street, Southport, every Monday

evening at 8 p.m. The Lancashire Organiser will be at home to Fellows and friends every Thursday afternoon from 3.30 to 5.30 in Miss Palethorpe's Studio, The Albany, Old Hall Street, Liverpool.

Other Meetings

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on March 24, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. John Beresford Leathes and Miss Forsyth.

At the International Women's Franchise Club, on March 25, at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: Dr. C. W. Saleby. Chair: Miss Otter.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall on March 25, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Baillie, B.Sc.

WHERE TO SHOP IN PROVINCES

The attention of our readers living in the country is directed to the advertisements of the provincial shops which appear below.

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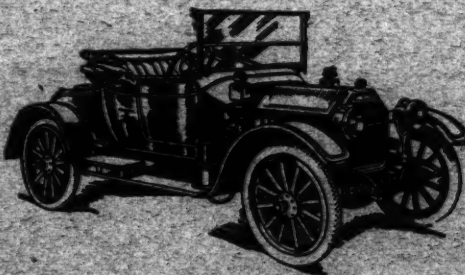
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2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

Miss Sydney Keith and Miss Eleanor Elder gave a performance of "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky" at Mrs. Lowy's house in Holland Park on Thursday, March 12.

A performance of "How the Vote was Won," and other items, will be given at Mrs. Sudd Brown's on March 20. A Suffrage entertainment fixed for Brighton on the same date has had to be cancelled owing to the regretted death of Miss Marshdale.

Rehearsals for the performance at the Arts' Centre on Friday, March 27, are in full swing. In addition to those mentioned last week, Mr. Guy Leigh Pemberton has joined the cast.

The next "Speakers' Class" is on Friday, March 20. This will be the last till after Easter, when it is hoped to resume the course.

Members who feel they would like to undertake "lobbying" in the House of Commons are asked to communicate at once with Miss Mayo, in order that they may join the "Group" now being formed for that work.

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Colours: Purple, White, and Orange Committee

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Mr. Gerald Gould
Mr. Henry W. Nevins

Mrs. H. D. Harben
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs. Frederick Whelen
Mr. John Scurr

Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer
Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

To London Readers—Important Notice.

—To-night's (Friday's) meeting of members and friends will be held in the Small Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., at 8 p.m., not in the New Constitutional Society's Hall, as originally announced, this having been found too small in view of the demand for tickets. Owing to the increased accommodation, a few seats are still available for the friends of members. Ring us up directly you read this!

Election Campaign (Waltham Division)

Last week's open-air meeting was most successful. Speakers at this week's, held at the same place and time—corner of Liverpool Street and Waltham Road, Thursday at 8 p.m.—Mr. Mewett and Miss Evelyn Sharp. Canvassers are coming in, but not so fast as we would like. Helpers of all kinds wanted, please! Paper-sellers, bill-distributors, chalkers, speakers!

Stroud Division.—A canvassing campaign is being started here at once. Anyone living in the neighbourhood and willing to help should communicate with us at headquarters.

Hatfield Faverley (Saffron Walden Division).—A similar campaign is also being instituted here for which helpers will be welcomed.

Provincial branches of the United Suffragists are in process of formation, of which particulars will be announced shortly. But meanwhile, there is no reason why canvassing campaigns should not be set on foot in any Parliamentary division where two or three members of US are gathered together. Will groups of this kind, however small, communicate with us at once? In view of a possible General Election, this is urgent.

First Public Meeting.—Our first public meeting will be held at the large Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Thursday, May 21, at 8 p.m. Miss Lena Ashwell will take the Chair; other speakers, including well-known men and women not hitherto identified with the movement, will be announced next week. Tickets can be booked now.

A New Leaflet.—By kind permission of Lady Constance Lytton, an excerpt from her book, "Prisons and Prisoners," has been published by US as a leaflet, and is on sale at 3, Adam Street, price 1s. per 100, or 7s. 6d. per 1,000, post free.

SPEECH THAT IS GOLDEN

Nursery for Suffrage Speakers

Probably few of our readers know the work that is being done by members of the Actresses' Franchise League in the training of Suffrage speakers. In addition to their own Speakers' Class, Miss Sydney Keith takes a weekly class in elocution for intending speakers in Bow, and one is now being started in Canning Town by Miss Winifred Mayo. Mrs. Periwé has for months past held a most successful Speakers' Class for the New Constitutional Society, both in London and Hastings, and one for the W.S.P.U. in Bexhill; and Miss Ada Moore undertakes others for the Chelsea, Kensington, and Hampstead W.S.P.U., while our readers will not need to be reminded of Miss Rosa Leo's splendid services to the W.S.P.U. and others in this connection. In the Suffrage movement it is certainly speech and not silence that is golden!

SPRING CLOTHES

Messrs. Harvey, Nichols and Co., Limited, have now a complete stock of spring clothes. They have some of the smartest coats and skirts in London, also coats in the new suede cloth. There are to be noticed many styles of shirt blouses, in silk, spunella, and linen. They have published a most attractive and useful catalogue, which should be a great help to prospective buyers.

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Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
253, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women
Vote's Association,
60, International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
5, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
43, Dover Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes,
321, Roman Road, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Civic Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

Friends League for Women's Suffrage,
Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage School,
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish Women's Franchise League,
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegal Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
33, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice,
22, South Molton Street, W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union,
Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
Dunston, Putworth, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
135, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffrage First Committee,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies,
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists,
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women's Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Muriello Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. March 22, 11. Rev. J. M. Thompson, of Magdalen, Oxford. "Religion: the Historical Element." 7. "Religion, the Mystical Element."

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6. Views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. Tuesday, March 24, at 8 p.m. New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. "Behind the Purdah." Mrs. John Beresford Leathes, Miss Forsyth.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, March 25: Miss Nina Boyle and Mrs. Baillie, B.Sc., on "The Century of the Child." 3.30. Admission free.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W. Subscription one guinea. Wednesday, March 25, 8.30. "National Birthday Commission." Dr. C. W. Saleeby Chairman: Miss Otter.

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NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY'S HALL in Knightsbridge to be let for meetings, &c. —For all particulars, apply Secretary, N.C.S.W.S., 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

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